Daily Report

East Europe

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FBIS-EEU-95-148 *2 August 1995*

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Progress Report on Eliminating Surplus Arms

AU0208064395 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 27 Jul 95 p 3

[Report by "bak": "The Czech Republic Is Completing the Liquidation of Surplus Arms"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—According to the Vienna Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces, the Czech Republic still has to destroy precisely 48 tanks, 65 combat armored carriers, and 102 artillery systems. This is to take place by 13 November 1995. As the Press Department of the Defense Ministry told HOSPODARSKE NOVINY, however, it is expected that the last tank will be festively cut to pieces on 7 November. The original plan reckoned with the completion of the liquidation in June 1995 but, since the expected quantity of hardware was not sold, the deadline was extended to November.

The Vienna Convention defines for the Czech Republic a maximum of 957 tanks, 1,367 combat armored carriers, 767 artillery systems, 230 combat aircraft, and 50 strike helicopters. This means that the inventory had to be reduced by 1,178 tanks, 1,622 combat armored carriers, 1,495 artillery systems, and 64 aircraft. Over the three years, the liquidation has cost more than 100 million korunas [Kc]. The destruction of a tank costs approximately Kc 60,000 this year, of a combat armored carrier between Kc 14,000 and Kc 24,500. There are still several dozen land weapons to be destroyed. The liquidation of the aviation hardware has surpassed the limit defined by the Vienna Convention as long ago as 1 January, when the Army had 215 combat aircraft and 36 strike helicopters.

Arms Exports Increase

AU0108202395 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 28 Jul 95 p 11

[Report by "pin": "Exports of Arms From the Czech Republic Began To Increase"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—Exports of military materiel reached $194 million last year, which is approximately $44 million more that in the last year of the federation. Bretislav Gregr, director of the Special Materiel Department at the Industry and Trade Ministry, told this to LIDOVE NOVINY yesterday. According to the License Administration, the data for this year are not yet available.

According to Gregr, Slovak tank hardware amounted to approximately 75 percent of the exports of military materiel in 1992. Following the emergence of the independent Czech Republic, the supplies of aircraft, replacement parts, and related services from Aero Vodochody to Thailand and Egypt formed almost 80 percent of the exports of military materiel in 1993 and 1994.

Regarding imports of military materiel, over the past two years the Czech Republic has purchased only replacement parts. It spent for this purpose $42 million in 1993 and $44 million in 1994.

From the point of view of the issued licenses for trade in military materiel, the Industry and Trade Ministry recorded a moderate growth. It satisfied 366 applicants two years ago, 542 last year, and 375 in the first half of this year. The export license can only be issued on the basis of a general permit to trade with these "sensitive" goods, and upon consultation with other interested ministries.

Trade in Military Materiel (in million dollars)

Year	Exports	Imports
1990*	270	—
1991*	200	—
1992*	150	—
1993	167	42

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Year	Exports	Imports
1994	194	44

*Data for the entire former Czechoslovak Federation

Black Market

AU0108161895 Prague DENNI TELEGRAF in Czech 28 Jul 95 p 1

[Report by Ferdinand Peroutka: "Stolen Arms From Bohemia Get Around the World"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Illegally obtained arms and explosives from Czech production have turned up not only in domestic organized crime, but also in the hands of foreign terrorists. According to DENNI TELEGRAF sources, they are used frequently for criminal activity particularly in the FRG, Poland, Russia, and Italy.

The staff of the Unit for Detection of Organized Crime deals with the crime of illegal possession of arms in connection with black marketing arms. As they told us, some of these weapons come from thefts from military units or they had been legally purchased and subsequently stolen. In addition to the illegal movement of arms from World War II that have been kept in various hiding places for years, there are all kinds of arms from the store of the former Soviet Army that were left behind. As well as handguns, assault rifles, and ammunition, these stores contain artillery shells, mines, and even anti-tank rocket grenades. These dangerous items are often hidden in underground stores or just lightly covered with soil by bulldozers. Other weapons are taken here and possibly transited to the West from the former Soviet Union. If an interesting type of illegally obtained weapon appears under the counter at some flea market, even a collector succumbs to its attraction.

A very common article in the black market with explosives is Semtex explosives. The price for one kilogram of Semtex ranges from 1,000 korunas to 3,000 German marks, while the official price in legal trade is marginal. The great price difference entices explosives supervisors, for instance, to its illegal sale. During one operation by the Unit for Detection of Organized Crime, six culprits were detained near Nove Straseci village while transporting 108 kg of Semtex. They were armed with an assault rifle and a shotgun and attempted to take the explosive to the Czech-German border, where they were to sell it to a German customer. Here, too, the origin was detected by an explosives supervisor, who subsequently found 160 pieces of perunite. Since a middleman also figured in this complex case, the investigation has dragged on, and the culprits are currently being investigated while at large. One of them disappeared and his whereabouts cannot be determined.

Petition To Ban StB Agents From Administration

AU0208064495 Brno ROVNOST in Czech 28 Jul 95 p 4

[Report by "ek": "Signatures Are Mounting on Prostejov Appeal"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Brno—By now, more than 200 deputies from local councils around the Czech Republic have signed the Prostejov Appeal.

In it they ask the Chamber of Deputies to amend Law 198/93, in order to prevent StB [former State Security] agents and collaborators from sitting on administrative bodies.

The impetus for this petition, initiated by the Prostejov organization of the Democratic Union, was the election of the former StB investigator Frantisek Sustr to the city council in Prostejov for the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia. In the meantime, Sustr gave up his seat because of the large protests of the population. [passage omitted]

So far, no representative elected for the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia, Left Bloc, or Sladek's Republicans has signed the Prostejov Appeal. Surprisingly, even Democratic Union Chairman Alena Hromadkova expressed some objections. In the meantime, the collection of signatures continues. Yesterday, on behalf of the organizers, Petr Hanzlik submitted the text of the petition at the Brno City Hall.

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Foreign Minister on U.S. Delegation's Visit

LD0108143995 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1000 GMT 1 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] A delegation from the political and military section of the U.S. State Department is continuing its visit to Slovakia. [passage omitted]

The agenda of the second working day of the U.S. delegation opened with a meeting with Foreign Minister Juraj Schenk. Olga Bakova asked the minister for an interview:

[Begin recording] [Bakova] Minister, this is not the first meeting of its kind. The first round of a dialogue on security and armaments control in Central Europe was held last year in the Czech Republic, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. It is Slovakia's turn this year. In your view, what is the main importance of the meeting between the officials of the political and military section of the U.S. State Department and us?

[Schenk] First, I would like to add that this meeting is only one of the platforms that are regularly used for communicating and consulting on these issues with the American side. I have had several opportunities to consult on these matters with Secretary of State Warren Christopher. We now have an opportunity for closer contact with State Department experts, and this is interesting, for we can learn about things that have happened in the meantime within this very dynamic development.

Second, the meeting provides a much better opportunity for detailed discussion. We consider such meetings as very welcome and we intend to continue them.

[Bakova] One of the topics of today's busy agenda is the European security architecture. What, in your view, is Slovakia's position within this architecture?

[Schenk] The European security architecture is predominantly concerned with the question of which security, political, or other organization should become part of it. It is a matter of including in it organizations such as NATO, the West European Union, but also the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe [OSCE].

Naturally, with regard to Slovakia, our position is linked first of all to the organizations of which we already are members, such as the OSCE, and then to the organizations that we intend to join, such as NATO, or those of which we are associate members already, such as the WEU. We are already directly taking part in the activities or plans of the latter two organizations either through Partnership for Peace or other activities. [end recording]

Meciar Discusses Results of Visit to Romania

AU0108202595 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 28 Jul 95 p 2

[Interview with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by Jozef Janto; place and date not given: "Romania Will Make Access to Its Capital Market Advantageous for Our Businessmen"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Janto] Mr. Prime Minister, you and Romanian Prime Minister N. Vacaroiu have summarized your talks in Bucharest as the beginning of a qualitatively higher stage in Slovak-Romanian relations. What does this new quality consist of?

[Meciar] Within the pan-European framework, this is entry into the integration processes, in which we want to coordinate our course of action. Our two countries are European Union-associated states; we are both applying for membership in it. We agreed that we will coordinate our course of action. We also agreed that we will strive to expand CEFTA (Central European Free Trade Association—editor's note), which is a new phenomenon. So far in Central Europe, only the Slovak side has come up with this initiative, which may mean an entirely new scope for the economy and market development, the kind of scope that many people do not even dream of today. A third important factor is relations that facilitate stability in central Europe. This concerns the issue of treaties with the Hungarian Republic. While we have signed a basic treaty with Hungary, Romania and Hungary are still negotiating on their treaty. There is a shift in position in that the Romanian side accepts that Document No. 1201 be in the appendix to the treaty in a certain form; this has been rejected until now. The negotiations are complicated. We have done everything to ensure that we explained our stand. In the economic sphere, a qualitative change is taking place. Following the (until now, in essence, neglected) exchange of goods, an attempt at mutual capital interlinking is getting under way. The Romanian prime minister even declared that he is willing to make access to his country's capital market advantageous for Slovak businessmen. They would have better access to privatization; the banking systems would be coordinated. Apart from this, we agreed on certain steps in the infrastructure sphere and expert commissions will begin working on them soon. This involves interlinking through Hungary and Ukraine, which may be of major significance for all three states. Economy Minister Ducky also held important talks in Bucharest and, likewise, the businessmen that accompanied us did a great deal of work there. Everyone is bringing something home—in the form of new agreements.

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[Janto] You also met in Bucharest with representatives of the Slovaks living in Romania. What affect did this meeting have on you?

[Meciar] This was not our first meeting. I first met with our compatriots in 1993 and, since then, we have been assisting them in certain things. At that time, we had projects for maintaining their cultural identity and for economically assisting the more backward regions as they did not even have electricity or roads in some places. Now, with the participation of the businessmen, we talked about other things. It is necessary to move the compatriot relationship into the economic sphere. Why should our firms, for example, not employ the Slovaks in Romania as their legal representatives? Why should they not assist in privatization as joint owners or shareholders? Apart from this, tourist guides are needed; translators' groups have to be established; and organizers of cultural exchanges are necessary. This can promote the Slovak community in Romania. There can be representatives of it in Slovakia and representatives of Slovakia in Romania. However, our compatriots in Hungary, Yugoslavia, Poland, and Ukraine also have this opportunity. We, it is true, have to help them become Slovakia's connectors with other countries. I see a historical opportunity here for Slovaks to ensure that their influence as an ethnic group and as an economic grouping is raised considerably in all of the states in which they live.

Opposition Outraged by Allegation of Coup

LD0108191395 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1630 GMT 1 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The statement made today by Jan Slota, Slovak National Party [SNS] chairman, in which he repeatedly accuses the opposition of preparing a parliamentary coup, is proof of the fact that the SNS leadership, which is a part of the Slovak Government, has completely lost its sense of reality, the statement issued by the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] says. The statement also emphasizes that the KDH is not managed from either the United States or any other western center, as Jan Slota suggests.

Peter Weiss, Party of the Democratic Left [SDL] chairman, described the content of Jan Slota's presentation as further proof of the increasing moral crisis in the government coalition. According to Weiss, this is part of a campaign intended to distract the attention from the anti-human measures adopted by the government, and from privatization, which has turned into the distribution of the national property among the political faithful.

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Horn Envisages Three New Government Posts

LD0108212595 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2100 GMT 1 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Prime Minister Gyula Horn has confirmed that he considers the expansion of the government to be necessary because he experiences problems in the preparation, and even more in the implementation, of government decrees.

The prime minister told Hungarian Radio that they would like to form three new posts, one for the coordination of the ministries' work, one for the coordination of domestic and foreign information, media affairs, and one for the preparation of extensive economic programs and financial construction.

Gyula Horn did not deny or confirm that Elemer Kiss and Gyorgy Janosi are favorites for the first two posts. The presidium of the Hungarian Socialist Party agreed that the new posts are necessary in order to improve the government's work, he said.

Foreign Affairs Expert Weighs NATO Membership

AU0108195295 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 29 Jul 95 p 4

[Article by Istvan Szonyi, research fellow at the Hungarian Foreign Affairs Institute: "Hungary and NATO's Expansion—Attempts for the Best and Preparation for the Worst"]

[FBIS Translated Text] This study starts from the assumption that NATO expansion is not clearly in the interest of either NATO or the possible new candidates for membership. Arguments can be found in favor of and against expansion; however, no such decisive criterium or strategic consideration exists that would unequivocally decide the debate in favor of membership.

According to this study, the decisive factor in the issue of expansion is the euro-atlantic debate that is to decide who should take the leading role—the United States or NATO's European member states (namely the EU states)—in the alliance's reform, and how the roles should be cast between NATO's U.S. and European pillars. However, NATO's significance in the new European security system is the major question waiting to be clarified.

Two basic positions appear to be outlined in the debate on the reform of the alliance. According to one, the EU's joint security policy and defense ambitions motivate NATO reform, and according to the other, the reform, which is unavoidable anyway, can provide assurance for maintaining the European integration efforts. In addition to this, national preferences are coming to the forefront in the reform of the military organization more than they did in the past, and NATO as an alliance can only fulfill its tasks if it accepts and respects these preferences. The increasing importance of national interests also applies to the issue of NATO expansion; therefore, it would be unwise to prematurely assume a consensus of the member states in this respect.

Naturally, NATO expansion is also an issue for us, not just for the alliance's member states. However, the same is true for Hungary's interests as for the member states' expansion interests: The arguments in favor of NATO membership are not clear enough and not decisive. Hungary can be interested in NATO expansion from a number of viewpoints. Considering the fact that it would not be directed against any particular country, its membership could stabilize the region's situation and provide a reliable framework for relations between Hungary and its neighbors. NATO membership could be a security against the possible extension of regional conflicts to Hungary's territory (although this has very little likelihood). In addition to this, catching up with NATO would also set requirements for the army's modernization and would accelerate this process that is unavoidable anyway. Membership could also be a guarantee for international capital not to avoid Hungary, and Hungary would not finally be left out of the EU expansion either.

However, all these do not definitely require Hungary's NATO membership because its security situation is not such that would give serious concern to international capital. It is also possible to further improve the security situation, to strengthen the region's stability, and to modernize the army without NATO membership through a cooperative framework maintained with the alliance, the member states, and the partner states. Institutional cooperation with the alliance, the North Atlantic Cooperation Council [NACC], and the Partnership for Peace program give ample and flexible opportunity to establish security cooperation. In fact, cooperation with NATO and the member states can sooner or later come to a level that can serve as a tacit guarantee in case of a possible conflict affecting Hungary. In brief, it cannot be proved that Hungary's interests definitely require NATO membership.

As no definite or decisive arguments can be found either on NATO's or on Hungary's side in support of expanding NATO, the issue of alternatives to membership arises. For example, Hungary is not a NATO member but maintains cooperative links with it and its members. This alternative is also acceptable if Hungary does not become an EU member, but is even more favorable if this goes together with EU membership. Membership in both the EU and the West European Union [WEU] can be an alternative to NATO membership. In accordance

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with the WEU Council's Petersberg declaration, these two have to be done together—namely, only EU members can be accepted into the WEU as full members. Therefore, WEU membership is not a viable alternative to NATO membership if Hungary happens to be left out of the EU. However, should Hungary gain membership in the EU, its WEU membership will still meet with obstacles because certain member states firmly declared that the WEU would not accept new members unless they are also accepted to NATO at the same time. Therefore, if cooperation with NATO and the WEU do not bring significant advantages for Hungary (whether as an EU member or not), the country can wind up its participation in all or some institutions of the cooperation (for example, in the NACC or in the associated partnership with the WEU). It can also be an alternative that Hungary, giving up part of its cooperation with NATO and the WEU, transfers security cooperation to the OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe] and, within this, to the Security Cooperation Forum.

On the basis of all this, two questions arise for Hungarian foreign policy. One, what arguments can be presented in support of Hungary's NATO membership, and the other, what policy it is worth following in the interest of achieving NATO membership. As for the first question, the arguments can mostly be found from the direction of the alternatives. It could be indicated how feasible it is for Hungary to remain outside NATO. This suggestion, of course, is only practical if Hungarian becomes an EU member or has serious chances to shortly acquire this. If Hungary has to be prepared in the long run for not being able to join the EU then the prospects of NATO membership will also worsen.

The allusion to alternatives is also justified by the consideration that the United States and mainly NATO's European member states would probably be reluctant to extend the security guarantees to a region in which the EU is unwilling to take on serious commitments. It is a further reason that the EU also cultivates ambitions in the area of common security policy and defense.

Therefore, reference to alternatives can start from the following consideration: The WEU has a dual task. It can find its place in relation to NATO as its European pillar and, at the same time, as the EU's defense wing. If Hungary becomes an EU member but does not join NATO or the WEU, then, in our case, the WEU can more or less be suitable as NATO's European pillar but cannot meet the expectations made against the EU's defense wing. If Hungary joins the EU and the WEU, then it can be expressed that the WEU approaches the expectations made against the EU's defense wing but gets more distant from the role of NATO's European pillar.

This alternative also raises the issue of "secondary" guarantees (the WEU-member Hungary would get guarantees from all NATO members through a NATO member WEU state). However, the acceptability of indirect guarantee cannot be certain by non-WEU member NATO members like the United States. Certain WEU members are actually firmly opposed to this solution. However, if WEU and NATO membership are so closely linked and Hungary cannot be a WEU member without Atlantic membership, then the following problems can arise. If the EU-member Hungary does not get WEU membership, it will ultimately be left out of the EU's common security policy and defense ambitions.

As for the policy to be followed by Hungary, it could be briefly summed up this way: striving for the most favorable alternative and preparing for the worst alternative. In respect to NATO's expansion, Hungary's NATO membership would be the favorable version and being left out the unfavorable option. Accordingly, the policy (which is already mostly followed) recommended to Hungary is that it conducts serious and extensive talks on the expansion and the related requirements with NATO member states and the Brussels center. This is useful even if Hungary does not reach NATO membership, because the Army's modernization is a definite necessity.

It would be useful, at least on the level of defense and political planning, to prepare for the possible alternatives well in advance. It is definitely advantageous to achieve Hungary's broad-ranging involvement in the West European and the euro-atlantic security community because, ultimately, this can get to a point where tacit guarantees are given to Hungary. Political consultations and negotiations can be supplemented by intensive Hungarian participation in the debate on NATO's expansion and on the European security structure, in which our participation cannot only be narrowed to a diplomatic level. The Hungarian public's and the political elite's thorough knowledge, sympathy, and stance in this issue do not escape the attention of the decisionmakers of NATO's member states. Maintaining bilateral cooperation and consultations with the region's countries is also an important aspect, and so are the strengthening of confidence in neighborhood relations and an ever broader use of the multilateral framework of confidence building offered by the OSCE. These steps contribute to maintaining an atmosphere of confidence and predictability in the regional security environment even if Hungary happens to get NATO membership before its neighbors do. At the same time, this also means that, to

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achieve NATO membership, Hungary will need steadfast patience and it will have to make serious efforts.

Bokros Discusses Reforms, Budget Deficit

AU0108162095 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 29 Jul 95 pp 1, 9

[Interview with Finance Minister Lajos Bokros by Katalin Bossanyi; place and date not given: "The Reform Budget Is an Illusion If the Status Quo Remains"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Bossanyi] After the Constitutional Court's decision, it was not only the opposition that started to bury the Bokros program. Now that the government has decided on—partially—patching up the holes in the 1995 supplementary budget, what is the balance of the stabilization measures so far?

[Bokros] Rather than being a one-off measure, stabilization is dependent on a longer-term and consistent economic policy. Even if everything goes according to plans, the favorable effects will only be felt in the second half of the year or the beginning of next year. Therefore, from the start, it was an illusion to believe that immediate improvement could be expected, although some politicians had hoped for this. Although we now have some cause for cautious optimism, it definitely has to be known that real stabilization is only being started now. The GDP will increase by 2 percent this year, which shows that we have met the concept of "sustainable growth" already at the beginning of stabilization.

[Bossanyi] However, from these processes, the average citizen can only notice the increased inflation. The duo of Bokros and Suranyi [chairman of the Hungarian National Bank] promised a consistent anti-inflation policy.

[Bokros] In order to reduce inflation, we must first reduce the budget deficit radically. If we manage to do this, then inflation can drop from the current 28-30 percent to 25-26 percent by the end of the year, including the fact that the inflationary effect of the September energy price increase will be 0.8 percent. This is one of the reasons I fought tooth and nail for the government to think in terms of reducing expenditure rather than increasing revenue to patch up the holes. I only succeeded to a degree.

[Bossanyi] What kind of 1996 will we have? Is it true that, as the joke goes, it will be worse than the previous year and better than the following one?

[Bokros] Assessing it from a macroeconomic aspect, 1996 will be better than 1995 because the deficit of state administration will be further reduced to 3.5-4 percent of the GDP, and the current account deficit will be targeted at around $2-2.3 billion. 1996 also promises improvements for those participants of the real sphere which are able to export because more will be spent on developing the infrastructure and investments, and the conditions for savings and investment stimulation will be expanded. While we generally wish to limit the support through specialized funds, this does not apply to the economic development fund. However, 1996 will not yet bring a major change for the population: We have to expect the restriction of demand to continue. If the stabilization policy is continued in 1996 and radical reforms are indeed started based on this, then we can expect further growth and improvement of the living standards in 1997.

Our Own Interests Dictate

[Bossanyi] The key figures of the budget meet the IMF's expectations. Does this mean that the government and the economic policy makers put these considerations higher on the list than the often mentioned level of social tolerance?

[Bokros] On the contrary. Rather than at the IMF's pressure, it is through our own interest that we came to the decision to continue the radical reduction of the deficit, and to start—I add that this is with a 10 year delay—to rethink the state's tasks. The IMF had more of a role in convincing the politicians. It made them realize that this is the way to avoid what is worst for society, namely the emergence of insolvency.

[Bossanyi] This is being used to frighten us, and then it turns out that the danger is not so acute!

[Bokros] This is a mistake. This year, we came to the turning point in the level of domestic and foreign indebtedness. Further increase cannot be financed. This year, we were only able to take on loans at a 1.5 percent higher interest rate on the international capital market, while our foreign debt stock has not at all been reduced, and the repayment of interest amounted to one-third, some 500 billion forints, of the current budget expenditure. For this reason, the 1996 budget also has a third key number: The country's net foreign indebtedness cannot be increased anymore, while the domestic debt has to be reduced by cutting the deficit of state administration further. We need the IMF agreement precisely to gain the confidence of foreign creditors and investors to these very significant changes. Without an IMF agreement, there is no German loan, and the World Bank will not lend money for changing the structure, either.

[Bossanyi] Does this mean that we are asking for further "advance" for the reforms?

[Bokros] We will have an agreement if the international financial institutions are able to see that we have the

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necessary political will and a thorough professional concept to implement the tasks in hand. It would be a waste of time not to mention that the IMF's current tough attitude was formed because the country had been unable to achieve anything of the agreement signed by the previous government.

[Bossanyi] All in all, how much deficit can the country permit itself to have next year?

[Bokros] Some $2-2.3 billion in the current account, which can be financed without increasing the foreign debt if privatizations are successful and the working capital continues to come in at the current rate. It is possible to coexist for a long time with this amount of deficit, along with economic growth in the right direction. This is what many people call a "modernization deficit." We expect a 132 billion [currency not specified] deficit in the central budget, which is a little more than we had previously expected. The deficit of the social insurance funds will also increase—this is concomitant with the launching of the reform of state administration. These together cannot be more than 3.5-4 percent of the GDP.

[Bossanyi] While supporting the general direction of your goals, economic circles and even the Alliance of Free Democrats do not agree with such a rapid reduction of the budget deficit. They claim that we should concentrate on the balance of the current account and that we should speed up the change of the welfare systems even at the cost of increasing the central deficit.

[Bokros] This is still an illusion in 1996. The reform of state administration has a definite destabilizing effect in the short term. It will only bring savings for the budget in two to three years when the new, partly market based system will be able to replace the old allocation systems to a greater extent. Therefore, in 1996, the big task is to counterbalance the extra deficit arising from the reforms by further reducing the expenditure in other areas.

[Bossanyi] How and from what?

[Bokros] This was the subject of debate at the last government session. I suggested to significantly change the structure of budget expenditure, but all the ministries are fighting like lions for the status quo. The prime minister has to decide the priorities: If he says that we should head for export stimulation and subsidies for culture, then the allocations have to be adjusted to this. However, it is only possible to give something to one area at the cost of another. I hope that we will be able to agree with the Interior Ministry on changing the financing of local governments and that the sphere of public employees will be further reduced. However, the reduced spending cannot avoid the social insurance, either.

[Bossanyi] However, the reforms cannot be implemented overnight because the radical—and not well enough elaborated—change has too high social costs.

[Bokros] I am in favor of gradual but consistent change. I know that a series of reforms of such a big magnitude is doomed to failure without professional and political support. For this reason, we are thinking in many versions and will not rigidly insist on our own ideas if the profession comes up with a better proposal. We will expose the part concepts—supported by an analysis of the effects—to a broad debate. We will inform the parliamentary parties. I am not only thinking of the government parties—although their support is vital for a 1996 launch—but of the opposition, too. The effect of the reform of state administration spans more than a governmental cycle.

To Rearrange the Burdens

[Bossanyi] What can the future bring in social insurance that is perh[illegible] the most sensitive area for the public? Will the b[illegible]s of employers be reduced? Would the burdens of [illegible]mployees increase too much at the same time? Will changeover to the three-tier pension system and to market system in health insurance be gradual enough for viable organizations of advance savings to be formed?

[Bokros] A decision has not yet been made on this. Incredibly many numbers are in circulation on the level of social insurance contributions: The calculations and expert coordination with the Welfare Ministry and the social insurance funds are still under way. It is an illusion to make a change in such a way that the population's social insurance payment burdens do not change. In addition to improving the competitiveness of entrepreneurs—as has been demanded by them for a long time—the pension contributions of employers would also be reduced because we would like to change over to a capital cover principle, both in the case of work based pensions and in the case of advance savings forms operating on an insurance principle. This means a regrouping of the burdens but does not all in all mean a reduction of pension contribution burdens. This is especially so because the basic pension, which is due as a basic citizens' right and whose level is still being discussed, will continue to have to be covered on the basis of collective solidarity. The funds for the changeover could be quickly established if we increased the retirement age to 62 years in 1996, and, with a 10-year time limit, we would make it possible for all those concerned to choose the best method that suits them.

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At the same time, we would reward those people who continue to work—to work and pay the contributions. We wish to maintain the favors granted to voluntary pension funds.

[Bossanyi] What about health insurance?

[Bokros] After a while, we would also like to make the system of voluntary advance savings dominant in this area, too. In other words, in addition to the basic care compulsorily provided by the [social] health insurance, people should be able to take out additional insurance, or we should divide the financing of additional services between the person, the funds, and social insurance. In addition to this, it is necessary to rationalize the costs of health care's institutional system because the current structure cannot even be financed with additional contributions.

[Bossanyi] To what extent will the independent health, insurance, which operates on a self-government basis, be maintained? You are accused of trying to covertly "re-nationalize."

[Bokros] On the contrary. Instead of the Budapest-based single health insurance, we would support the establishment of several regional health funds. In my view, these would be much better able to adjust to the local institutional and personal needs in close cooperation with the local governments. For this reason, we will suggest the establishment of a regional insurance council that will include the social insurance, the local government, the Welfare Ministry, and the interest representation groups of doctors and patients. It would be expedient to run the health care institutions as public, nonprofit organizations.

I Will Work for as Long as I Am Allowed To

[Bossanyi] You are planning important changes in personal taxation next year. Would the extension of the taxable income simply increase the revenue, or would it, as a forerunner to the reform of state administration, promote a more just sharing of the burdens?

[Bokros] In 1996, we would basically like to eliminate from the current system the big exceptions allowed for certain strata and groups. I am thinking of the agricultural entrepreneurs, private entrepreneurs, and those in intellectual occupations. In addition to this, we will abolish the zero rate: All incomes will be taxed. The government has not yet decided on how to compensate the poorest groups of people. Together with the fight against the black economy, the changes wish to achieve that entrepreneurs and people on higher incomes take a bigger share in the general sharing of taxation, and that the strictness of tax collection does not only apply to people living on wages or salaries.

[Bossanyi] Previously, it was said that, in the area of personal taxation, we would gradually change over to family taxation.

[Bokros] We can only attempt to do this with a 4-5 percent GDP increase and with a tax apparatus that is much more efficient than the current one. Therefore, this is unlikely before 1997-98.

[Bossanyi] To avoid upsetting the social peace during the implementation of these plans, an agreement should be made with the trade unions. Can you see a chance for this?

[Bokros] I can. We should mainly come to an agreement with the social partners on the 1996 prices and wages and the steps of the reform of state administration.

[Bossanyi] Are you not afraid of public anger and the reduction of political and governmental support arising from a complete loss of popularity?

[Bokros] I am using the best of my professional abilities for the success of the truly urgent stabilization, rather than for a "fiscal dictatorship" for its own sake. In my view, people are increasingly accepting that it is more socially responsible and shows more solidarity if we support those truly in need from the smaller amount of money available for distribution. Obviously, I know that my efforts hurt many kinds of interests, even within the government and the parties. I will work for as long as I am allowed to. I will not do anyone the favor of letting myself be forced to resign.

Defense Council Debates Armed Forces Reform

95CH0304B Budapest MAGYAR HONVED in Hungarian 30 Jun 95 p 15

[Article by Attila Kovacs: "The Armed Forces Reform Is Before the HOVET"]

[FBIS Translated Text] At a special request by HODOSZ [National Federation of Defense Workers], the National Defense Reconciliation Council [HOVET] discussed at a special meeting the parliamentary proposal on the long- and middle-term development and the strength of the Hungarian Defense Forces. Since the data that have been made public indicate that the number of civilian employees will be significantly cut, it is no wonder that HODOSZ shows great interest in the proposal which the government recently approved and which is referred to, in short, as the armed forces reform.

In his introductory remark, Dr. Jozsef Feher, Administrative State Secretary of the Ministry of Defense, emphasized in connection with statements regarding the armed forces reform that the parliamentary proposal was

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presented not by the ministry but by the administration. He stressed that since the law requires a reconciliation of any decision proposal, the ministry has not missed anything yet. The defense minister has not made—may not make—a decision on this issue.

Dr. Feher also emphasized that the ministry has prepared, and presented to the administration, two proposals prepared by experts. The administration decided which of the two would be presented the National Assembly. Since a proposal does exist now, the defense minister may, in the name of the administration, begin with the reconciliation with industrial union representatives.

Dr. Feher stated that ministry officials think the Hungarian Defense Forces are, in its present state, threatened by complete immobilization. This is why the armed forces reform is an unavoidable task. At the end of the process, we could have a modern and efficient army with less people. He stressed that, for the most part, civilian employees are affected by the measures.

"The viewpoint of HODOSZ is that their criticism focused not on the armed forces reform but on the measures that affect civilian employees," said Laszlo Breuer. He stressed that they expect the ministry to provide them with information and exact figures regarding the extent of the downsizing. According to chief secretary Breuer, the fourth paragraph of the law on the legal status of public employees requires that the minister present the appropriate unions a draft of any decision that affects a large number of government employees. This has not been done; therefore, the HODOSZ is of the opinion that the ministry repeatedly violated this law, for the union did not have any opportunity to express its views regarding this matter.

Breuer also emphasized that the HODOSZ is of the opinion that such a large-scale downsizing of civilian employees will create problems is the army's peacetime operation. Furthermore, union officials are afraid that the money appropriated for the downsizing will not be enough, for even the present dismissal of 3,000 persons will require billions in severance pays. Thus the HODOSZ sees no guarantees that the state treasury will be able to provide the money for letting go about 18,000 employees in three years.

National League of Veterans Associations [BEOSZ] representative Laszlo Fulop said that it would have been better if BEOSZ had been involved in the preparation of the proposal, for they could have had an influence on both the government's and parliament's proposal. He said that they do not see how changes in personnel can be carried out on the basis of Statute 71/10 and, for this reason, the law on [armed] service must come into effect before the armed forces reform's implementation. Fulop also stressed that they have requested the ministry earlier to include a social plan with every [forwarded] material. He thought it was unfortunate that this was entirely left out of the armed forces reform proposal.

Lieutenant Colonel Istvan Soros, Soldiers Union [KESZ] Chairman, said that they consider it a violation of the agreement of cooperation regarding HOVET's activity that the ministry did not involve the Reconciliation Council in the decisionmaking process. He stressed that, according to the agreement of cooperation, HOVET is the forum for preparing decisions. In other words, the minister should have requested the opinion of the unions before making any decision on a proposal that is to be submitted to the executive branch, said the KESZ's chairman.

According to Lt. Col. Soros, the KESZ has always championed the idea of the armed forces reform, for there is a great need for it. "Had the professional personnel learned about this draft in detail, they would be much less anxious, for the dismissals do not affect them to any great extent," said Soros.

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Silajdzic Letter to Butrus Ghali on Zepa, Bihac

LD0108201895 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 1 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Several minutes ago we received a copy of a letter Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic sent to UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali. The Bosnia-Herzegovina Government decided today to send this letter to Butrus-Ghali. The letter depicts the current situation in Zepa, Bihac, and Sarajevo, and outlines our concrete demands:

Your Excellency,

We believe that you are aware of the following facts:

1. Two thousand, eight hundred and sixty-five civilians who have not been evacuated are still in the area of Zepa; no one in the world has had any contact with them and no food has been delivered to them for over 30 days. They are hiding in forests and caves. The UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR], which is present in the area of Zepa, is not able to establish contact with them nor to patrol this area. The UN High Commissioner [UNHCR] for Refugees and the International Red Cross are not present in that area.

2. People have been dying from starvation in Bihac for a long time. The fresh offensive being launched by the Serb aggressor forces from the so-called Republic of Serb Krajina in Croatia and from the occupied areas of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina has caused a new flood of more than 10,000 refugees, which is rendering the situation absolutely catastrophic.

3. Sarajevo is entering a humanitarian catastrophe. In the past three months the UNHCR has delivered a total of 7,500 tonnes of food for 300,000 citizens, which is less than one kilogram of food per head a month. All food reserves have been exhausted. UNPROFOR and UNHCR had begun delivering aid via a road across Mt. Igman, the only road which can be used for the delivery of humanitarian aid without the Serb aggressor forces having any influence over it, but thanks to decisions which came from Zagreb, this delivery was suspended.

At a meeting held on 31 July 1995, we learned from top UNPROFOR representatives that the Zagreb-based UNPROFOR Headquarters for Yugoslavia issued a political decision that roads running through Serb-controlled territory should be used to a maximum degree and that delivery of aid to Sarajevo over Mt. Igman should stop. For us this means that UNHCR and UNPROFOR were tasked with the consistent implementation of the Sarajevo blockade according to the Serb diktat.

We were told that the delivery of humanitarian aid over Mt. Igman will be resumed as soon as such a political decision is made within the framework of the United Nations.

In connection with the above, we demand:

1. UNPROFOR should begin patrolling the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army-controlled area of Zepa without delay; it should also establish contact with citizens and civilian authorities in that area and carry out a safe evacuation of civilian population until the entire population has been humanely evacuated, as UNPROFOR has started calling it, in cooperation with the international community and the Serb aggressor forces. We demand urgent delivery of humanitarian aid to Zepa via land routes or by the resumption of the air-drop operation.

2. Delivery of humanitarian aid to Bihac should begin immediately either via land routes or by air; UNHCR should assume the obligation of accommodating new refugees and offering adequate assistance to them and to the local population. We demand from UNPROFOR that it stop attacks on the civilian population in the protected area of Bihac in cooperation with NATO, and to free the blockaded UNPROFOR units so that they can carry out the mission for which they have been deployed in that area.

3. The United Nations should adopt a political decision to deliver humanitarian aid to Sarajevo over Mt. Igman whenever it is impossible to do so via roads controlled by Serb aggressor forces, for which the Rapid Reaction Force should be used, whose task is to protect humanitarian convoys.

Our government will reexamine its relations with UNPROFOR if it fails to finally secure the delivery of humanitarian aid via the Tarcin-Mt. Igman-Hrasnica-Dobrinja road, and if the United Nations in Zagreb continues to prevent UNPROFOR and UNHCR in Sarajevo from doing it.

Your Excellency,

We are convinced that the United Nations, aided by regional political and military organizations, are capable of and duty bound to fulfill these demands. For us this depends on whether you and your aides intend to do this and adopt the adequate decision, not whether those who should carry this out are capabe of doing so.

Sincerely yours, Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic, says the letter sent by Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic to UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali.

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Hails NATO Bihac Umbrella

AU0108204595 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 1 Aug 95

[Interview with Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic by Senada Cumurovic; place and date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] Mr. Silajdzic, a meeting of NATO members is in progress in Brussels. What is your current information on the course of the meeting and the topics being discussed?

[Silajdzic] The meeting is in progress; it is a meeting of permanent NATO representatives [words indistinct] nothing definite, but we have learned from some of our sources that the umbrella, the so-called NATO umbrella over Gorazde has been expanded to include Bihac [words indistinct]. Unfortunately, nobody has mentioned Zepa, despite the fact that our people are still fighting there. [Words indistinct] we shall learn; as far as I know, [words indistinct] of the so-called expanded zones, action zones. We have learned that, if a buildup of troops and artillery occurs, there will be decisive and swift NATO action. I repeat, the meeting is in progress, but we hope that the decision on expanding the NATO umbrella to include other protected areas is definite.

[Cumurovic] Of course, the meeting is in progress. More precise information will be available once it is over. However, how would you comment on this, as yet unofficial, information?

[Silajdzic] Well, we have a very strange situation as far as the international community is concerned. There is a limit to everything and this includes the international community's behavior in Bosnia, this type of behavior. The crux of the matter is that the international community, via the UN Security Council, has set up an International War Crimes Tribunal in The Hague. This international court has established the existence of [words indistinct] genocide and war crimes; if there are, therefore, people who are guilty of committing genocide, than there must be victims of this genocide as well. It is very difficult to explain to anyone that these victims of genocide, since they do exist, are unprotected, yet cannot be defended. Therefore, the international community cannot say that there is genocide (?but the victims) [words indistinct] cannot be defended; they cannot go so far. That is why I believe that this may be the first step towards redefining the international community's role to the advantage of the victim.

[Cumurovic] Might this precipitate a stronger NATO role?

[Silajdzic] As far as I am concerned, NATO is the only party that can have a role, no one else.

Views U.S. Support

MM0208110495 London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 1 Aug 95 p 1

[Report by Nur-al-Din Salih: "UN Forces Cannot Protect Bihac and Sarajevo"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Zagreb—Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic stressed to AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT yesterday that "the UN forces will not be able to stop the Serb attacks on Bihac and Sarajevo and that the only solution rests with NATO which should take serious and decisive steps in this connection."

Silajdzic, whom AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT met in Zagreb, said that "the West has abandoned the plan of the international Contact Group for Bosnia-Herzegovina and is trying to impose a fait accompli." He said that "the committee is about to draw up a new map for Bosnia-Herzegovina, but we will reject it and will not accept any geographical change."

On his visit to Washington after the U.S. Congress' decision to lift the arms embargo for Bosnia, Silajdzic said: "The majority in the United States supports that decision, and the U.S. President (Bill Clinton) himself supports the Bosnian people's right to self-defense, but he apparently does not want to make any decision that would be in conflict with the position of his European allies."

The Bosnian prime minister revealed that "the U.S. Administration is working seriously for the implementation of the NATO threats against Serb positions which attack the protected areas, as confirmed by Secretary of State Warren Christopher." He said that the United States "is, for the first time, considering sending land forces to Bosnia-Herzegovina to help the UN forces. It had offered to send helicopters to transport Rapid Reaction Forces if necessary."

On the recent battles west of Bosnia in which Croat forces managed to liberate the cities of Bosanko Grahovo and Glamoc, he said that "these battles came directly after the Split agreement between Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic and Croatian President Franjo Tudjman under which the Bosnian Government sought military support from Croatia to stop the Serb attacks on Bihac, particularly as the attacks were coming from the Serbs of occupied Krajina in Croatia."

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Government Criticizes Akashi for Obstructing Aid

AU0108200695 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 1 Aug 95

[Report by Samir Huseinovic on the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina Government session in Sarajevo on 1 August—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The aggressors, making use of the international community's inefficiency, most likely wish to employ the same tactics in Bihac as they employed in Srebrenica. This was stated at the session of the Government of the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. According to the latest information, the defenders' lines are under intense fire in the region of (?Pecigrad); this is accompanied by constant infantry attacks and regrouping of the newly arrived Chetnik forces. The humanitarian situation in the region is particularly dire; food and medicine are scarce. The military and humanitarian situation in Zepa is also uncertain; the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army troops are still putting up strong resistance to Karadzic's terrorists. This is particularly obvious after special troops of the so-called Serbian Army have been brought in from other fronts to Zepa. The UN Protection Force's [UNPROFOR] shameful behavior, both as regards Zepa and Bihac, is the result of the attitude of high-ranking UNPROFOR commanders who have remained deaf to all appeals. Yasushi Akashi has the leading role in obstructing the international community's efforts; he engineered the rerouting of humanitarian convoys and advised that they travel through territory under Karadzic's control and that Karadzic's Serbs be asked to help; this has further deteriorated the already dire humanitarian situation in Sarajevo. Five days ago, a humanitarian shipment for Sarajevo was suspended due to the lack of a political decision on the part of UN representatives in Zagreb.

The Government of the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina will send sharp letters of protest to Butrus-Ghali and Sadako Ogata because of the critical situation in our country and because of the incomprehensible attitude of certain UN officials who are going out of their way to obstruct the delivery of aid to the civilian population in endangered areas. Relations between the Bosnia-Herzegovina authorities and UNPROFOR will in future depend on the degree of their engagement in solving the problem; in case of a negative outcome, radical measures will be considered. [passage omitted]

Morillon Airs Views on UN Safe Areas

LD0108211395 Paris France-2 Television Network in French 1800 GMT 28 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Anchorman Bruno Masure] General Morillon, who until recently commanded the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] in Bosnia, is well qualified to speak about the state of utter dismay, not to say desperation among the populations of the various Muslim enclaves. [passage omitted]

Good evening, general. Srebrenica, Zepa, perhaps Bihac next. Are all the enclaves bound to fall like dominos, one after the other?

[Morillon] Well, listen, the fall of Srebrenica and Zepa was foreseeable insofar as, I believe, the Bosnians themselves did not truly make a stand to defend them. Bihac is completely different, they still have the army there. Zepa and Srebrenica were much more lightly defended than Bihac.

The Bihac safe area proper is the town itself, and the fighting is at present taking place rather far from the town.

So, in answer to your question, I do not see an immediate threat to the Bihac safe area and its inhabitants.

[Masure] Yesterday, or was it the day before yesterday, the U.S. Senate voted for the unilateral lifting of the arms embargo. You will be going to Washington shortly. Are you going to try and put to the U.S. military the case for reversing the decision?

[Morillon] I have been invited over by a Franco-American group for reflection on strategic topics. It is for all practical purposes a private visit, but I will indeed endeavor to convince the Americans that this would be the worst of all solutions. Because I believe, as has been said, that it would entail the withdrawal of UNPROFOR, and it would be a disaster for our civilization and for Bosnia itself.

Mladic's goal is certainly the withdrawal of UNPROFOR, and as soon as this happened he would be bound to mount an immediate attack on Sarajevo.

I would remind you that when I arrived in October 1992 everybody was forecasting the imminent fall of Sarajevo, and that the presence, my symbolic presence with a few soldiers in the heart of the city, was sufficient then to prevent it.

[Masure] In that context, do you regard the creation of the Rapid Reaction Force as a good thing, effectively useful on the ground?

[Morillon] It is what I and all my successors had asked for, that is to say, a means to make ourselves respected.

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In that kind of conflict, among that kind of fighter, to be respected you must be strong. And we were not strong enough.

The Rapid Reaction Force which has just been deployed and which we are now strengthening with 155-mm artillery, will have the means, so I hope, and this is the last chance, to restore to the UN force as a whole its raison d'etre, that is to say, its freedom to act.

[Masure] What is your response to the announcement just made by Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic proclaiming the Serb Republic to be in a state of war?

[Morillon] That proclamation was made following the Croatian offensive on the Bosnian border, into Bosnia, to relieve the pressure on the 5th Bosnian Corps and above all the cut the corridor, vitally important to the Krajina Serbs, linking their capital of Knin with Banja Luka, held by the Bosnian Serbs. This explains his reaction.

Since you have mentioned Karadzic, I would simply like to say that his and General Mladic's condemnation by the International Court of Justice is something that we were all expecting. Nevertheless we should perhaps not demonize the Serbs as a whole.

I believe that the Serbs as a whole believed in all good faith that Mladic was leading them on a crusade to save Christendom against the threat of an Islamic invasion. And that what has happened in Srebrenica, where people were treated like animals, has shown, should have shown those who exercise moral, religious, and political authority in Serbia that they are taking the path of barbarism and that it is perhaps not too late to prevent having the entire Serbian people placed beyond the pale of humanity as was the case with the German people during the Second World War.

[Masure] Thank you for your comments, General Morillon.

French Fund Repair of Sarajevo Water System

AU0208075195 Paris AFP in English 2122 GMT 1 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Aug 1 (AFP)—A French utility company signed a million-dollar contract Tuesday [1 August] to repair Sarajevo's water supply network.

The contract, which was funded by a gift from the French Government, was signed as the Bosnian capital came under shell fire.

The French company is SOGEA, a subsidiary of Compagnie Generale des Eaux.

Sead Kreso, director of an international agency to reconstruct Bosnia, was wounded in the leg during a rocket blast during the signing ceremony.

Sarajevo's water treatment and delivery system was built at the end of the last century and has been severely damaged during the three-year siege of the city by Bosnian Serb forces.

Bosnian Army Commentary Condemns Abdic's Betrayal

LD0208110395 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 1 Aug 95

[Commentary by Bosnia-Herzegovina Army Press Center]

[FBIS Translated Text] Treason is the most shameful act that can be committed by an individual or a group but all betrayals are not the same because one should take into account their consequences. The most tragic consequences are caused by a betrayal of one's own nation. This has been done by Fikret Abdic who had betrayed the Bosniak nation at the time when Serb fascists and their helpers condemned the Bosniaks to a silent death. Fikret Abdic Babo has joined the long column of grave diggers as their flag bearer [words indistinct], the Press Center of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina comments and adds:

Fikret Abdic's quest for autonomy and betrayal could be analyzed from several aspects if his was an act based on logical premises. However, it is clear that this is primarily an implementation of a fixed idea by a frustrated and crazed group craving power. The group is headed by the self-proclaimed genius [Abdic] and their greedy calculations have caused huge damage to the nation. The treacherous activities of Abdic and his bloodthirsty clique have been used and are being used as a tool by far more powerful aspirants to Bosnia-Herzegovina, orchestrated by the national-fascist Serbian state regime. There is only one precondition, to destroy the Bosniak nation systematically; everything else will be easy to accomplish.

This is being done in several ways. First, one of the ways to win a victory over the Bosniaks is to cause a rift among them. Abdic was produced for that purpose.

Second, it is necessary to produce a sympathizer of Radovan Karadzic among the Bosniaks and thus grant legitimacy to criminal Karadzic, not as a fascist and terrorist, but as an opponent of the current Bosnia-Herzegovina regime, another reason to create Abdic.

Third, it is necessary to find a glory-thirsty leader among the Muslims as well, so that it should not transpire

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that it is only the Serbs who are keen to tear Bosnia-Herzegovina apart. Abdic has been produced.

Fourth, the most important point, it is necessary to create a sympathizer among the Bosniaks so that they can point their finger at him saying, see, the Serb fascists are not against the Bosniaks, the Serbs are threatened by Bosniak fundamentalists and are forced to defend themselves, while they are always ready to cooperate with democratically oriented people from non-Serb nations.

Abdic has been swindling his people for a long time, and then from a swindle he jumped into treason, promising those few of his followers castles in the sky, resorting to the fiction of some Liechtenstein, Andorra, San Marino, and other principalities.

Some are still talking about Fikret Abdic as a dissident. To declare Abdic a dissident would be tantamount to complimenting him, because dissidents follow their own programs, which are not in accordance with the policy of a single party or state. However, Abdic's problem is the most miserable sale of his people to its murderers and the purchase of his own comforts, comforts of a self-styled power holder. Unfortunately, the result of his disgraceful trade is the spilled blood of many innocent Bosniaks, the commentary by the press center of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army says.

Army: 6,000 FRY Troops Fighting in Bihac

AU0108192195 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 1 Aug 95

[Statement by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army Press Center]

[FBIS Translated Text] We have learned from the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army Press Center that the 5th Corps has repelled all the [Serb] aggressor attacks on the Srpski Kozin-Drenovac-Tijesno and Donja Luka-[name indistinct] routes. The enemy forces sustained heavy losses in manpower.

According to the latest information, together with joint Chetnik forces from Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia, some 6,000 troops of the army of the so-called Federal Republic of Yugoslavia are also fighting on Bihac front.

Serbs Continue Attacks

AU0208095395 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 2 Aug 95

[Report by Muhamed Mulic from Bihac]

[FBIS Translated Text] Momentous attacks by the united aggressors on the territory of Una-Sana Canton continued today, especially in Velika Kladusa Municipality.

Thus, in the area of Przine, (?Veliko Drvjeste), and (?Malo Drvjeste), from the direction of [word indistinct] in the so-called Serbian Krajina, the enemy undertook ferocious artillery-tank and infantry attacks, which the fighters of the Bosnia-Herzegovina 5th Corps Army resisted successfully. The Trzic-Krivaja-(?Stublic) defense lines were attacked simultaneously. All these aggressor's attacks, which involved artillery and tanks, were launched from the occupied parts of Croatia. Numerous settlements on the free territory of Bihac Canton were attacked. The united aggressors activated infantry on Mt. Pljesivica, especially around [word indistinct] as well in Turski Kozjen on Mt. Grmec. All the attacks were resisted successfully and the enemy returned to the initial positions.

It has been observed that Martic's Chetniks are not withdrawing from Una-Sana Canton, but are merely transferring troops, especially in the Velika Kladusa region.

UN: No Serb Pullout

AU0208104295 Paris AFP in English 1011 GMT 2 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Zagreb, Aug 2 (AFP)—Krajina Serb soldiers are still in the Moslem pocket of Bihac in northwest Bosnia, despite promises of a total withdrawal, a United Nations peacekeeper said Wednesday [2 August].

Colonel Jasper Helsoe, commander of the peacekeepers in Bihac, said there was "still quite a big number" of separatist Croatian Serb soldiers there.

The separatist Croatian Serbs had told UN special envoy to the former Yugoslavia Yakushi Akashi over the weekend they would pull out completely from the Bihac pocket.

The UN did report that about 1,000 of them had crossed the border back into Croatia.

Helsoe, speaking from Bihac to Zagreb on the phone, refused to say how many Krajina Serbs remained in the area, but said their tanks and artillery were still in the Bihac pocket.

He said NATO's decision to protect Bihac, Sarajevo, and Tuzla, which is in the northeast, was the "right decision, which will give greater security for the people."

Apart from a Bosnian attack in the west of the pocket near the Croatian border to push back the battle lines, the situation was "quiet" overnight Tuesday in Bihac, he added. [passage omitted]

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Krajina Serb Aircraft Attack Croatian Positions

AU0108142695 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 1 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The positions of the Croatian Army in southwestern Bosnia were attacked by three Serbian aircraft today. The representatives of the UN Protection Force stated that the aircraft in question belonged to the Croatian Serbs. They attacked Croatian positions in the vicinity of Strmica, a strategically important village on a mountain pass leading toward Knin. There are no other details available about the air attack. [passage omitted]

Air Alert in Bihac

AU0108185195 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 1 Aug 95

[Report by Mirza Sadikovic]

[FBIS Translated Text] According to information available at this point, three civilians have been killed while several others sustained serious or slight injuries in today's shelling of the Buzim Municipality. The joint aggressors continued attacks on the Velika Kladusa and Cazin parts of the front, where Martic's, Karadzic's, and Abdic's Chetniks are regrouping and concentrating as they withdraw from other fronts in the 5th Corps and Croatian Defense Council's Bihac theater of operations.

[Words indistinct] in the region of Golubovici and Todorovo; attacks have also been reported in the region of Pecigrad and (?Krivaja), which the population is again fleeing. The Chetniks today also attacked Bosanska Otoka [words indistinct] and the Grabez part of the Grmusa-Srbljani plateau. The outskirts of Cazin and Bihac were shelled this afternoon. Owing to frequent overflights of enemy helicopters and jets that are bringing to the [words indistinct] front manpower and military hardware, an air raid alert has been sounded in Bihac.

Government on Fate of Srebrenica, Zepa Civilians

LD0108214495 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 1 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] At its session today, presided over by Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic, the government of the Republic and the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina adopted a report on the government's activities so far with regard to the reception of refugees from Srebrenica and Zepa and their medical protection. The report will be forwarded to the Assembly of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The government said there are indications that civilians from Srebrenica and Zepa are being taken to three camps, in Batkovici, Konjevic Polje, and Bratunac, and are also engaged in forced labor in mines and in Fikret Abdic's paramilitary formations. In this connection the government will ask the International Red Cross to urgently register civilians who are still on the territory of Srebrenica and Zepa, in order to offer them aid in food, clothing, and footware and to create conditions for their safe evacuation.

At the same time, the government has decided to launch an initiative for setting up a world fund to help the population of Srebrenica and Zepa in order to secure conditions for their survival, until the international community secures conditions for their return.

Serbs Capture Zepa Negotiators

AU0108202195 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 1 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The cabinet of Minister Hasan Muratovic today issued a statement, which reads as follows:

Negotiations on the exchange of prisoners and the evacuation of all those remaining on the territory of the Zepa municipality are in progress. In addition to the fact that the Serb representatives are dragging their feet, the problem is that our authorities in Sarajevo do not know the Zepa representatives' stances because the Serb aggressor side is holding prisoner all the negotiators who showed up at the latest meeting with the aggressor's General Mladic in Zepa. Since that time, our government does not know the stances of the Zepa authorities and it cannot contact them. The UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] and the International Committee of the Red Cross are requested to make urgent contact with the remaining Zepa population. For the time being, the Serb aggressor side is banning both the Red Cross and UNPROFOR from the area, and without this there is no way to agree the details of the exchange and evacuation. The Zepa population is asked not to succumb to psychological pressure and to communicate solely through tried and tested UNPROFOR representatives and the ICRC when they visit them.

Hundreds Break Out

AU0208133695 Paris AFP in English 1259 GMT 2 Aug 95

[Report by Adrian Brown]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, August 2 (AFP)—Hundreds of refugees missing from the fallen Zepa enclave appear to have either fled to neighbouring Serbia or be trekking across enemy territory, according

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to reports reaching UN officials here Wednesday [2 August].

In Belgrade, the International Committee of the Red Cross [ICRC] said several hundred Moslems from eastern Bosnia had sought refuge in rump Yugoslavia Monday and Tuesday.

Another group may have been caught and rounded up by Bosnian Serb forces in the area, who are chasing down the last government defenders who refused to surrender when Zepa town fell.

There are also fears that the 250 French, Ukrainian, British and Russian UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) peacekeepers in the enclave could be taken hostage by the Serbs. UNPROFOR is planning a rapid evacuation if the situation deteriorates, UN sources said Tuesday.

The former UN-designated safe haven around Zepa fell to advancing Serb forces July 25. Most of the civilians, some 4,200 mainly women and children were bused out of the pocket to government-held territory, but concerns have intensified over the fate of the rest.

"We have reports but cannot corroborate them that a mass of refugees may have crossed into Serbia," Alexander Ivanko, a UN spokesman, said.

"We also have reports of 600 refugees moving towards Kladanj and a very worrying report that the Bosnian Serb Army (BSA) may have rounded up 200 people in the village of Luka," he said, adding the source of the reports was local Serbs in the enclave.

Kladanj is the nearest government town to the frontline in northwest Bosnia while Luka is in the east of the enclave very close to the border with Serbia.

ICRC delegates in Bosnia are travelling to the border area to investigate the reports, ICRC spokeswoman Jessica Barry said.

The ICRC in Belgrade meanwhile said hundreds of displaced Moslems had sought refugee near the border town of Bajina Basta.

"We are going there Wednesday afternoon to draw up a list of these refugees," Josue Anselmo, a spokesman for the ICRC in the Serbian, capital told AFP.

It is thought around 3,000 soldiers and civilians remained in the hills in the enclave after it fell.

The Bosnian Serbs have clamped restrictions on the peacekeepers in the area not allowing them to move nor permitting resupply convoys to restock their fuel and food reserves. The have also continued "to pillage the town loading cattle onto trucks," Ivanko said.

"The Ukrainians are very short on supplies. They have zero fuel and rations are running out," Ivanko said. The main Ukrainian contingent deployed in the enclave of 79 soldiers was reinforced by some 150 French, Russian, and British troops after Zepa fell.

However, the spokesman added that the peacekeepers did have the "logistical means" to withdraw and the BSA has not said the UN soldiers cannot leave.

"The fact that we have these extremely vulnerable peacekeepers there is a worry in case we should want to use NATO airpower," a UN official said.

Bosnian Serbs took UN hostages when they swept through another UN safe area Srebrenica earlier in July as insurance against NATO airstrikes.

Elsewhere in Bosnia, fighting in the Bihac enclave in the northwest was limited to a small counteroffensive by the government army 5th Corps, the sole defenders in the enclave which has come under severe pressure from the combined forces of the Croatian and Bosnian Serbs and their rebel Moslem allies.

A UN military spokesman said the attack happened Tuesday and was aimed at "taking advantage of the Krajina (Croatian) Serb army withdrawal."

Combined Serb forces launched an offensive on the enclave July 19 but under threat of an imminent attack by the Croatian Army, Krajina Serb units have withdrawn from the government enclave in northwest Bosnia.

A UN official said some 800 troops, 19 tanks, and 14 artillery pieces had so far been taken out of the area. A pledge by the Krajina Serbs of a complete withdrawal has not been honoured.

On Tuesday, a UN helicopter evacuating two French injured peacekeepers was shot at by Bosnian Serb soldiers as it came in to land and departed from a Sarajevo UN base, UN spokesman Gerard Dubois said.

ICRC: 'At Least 5,000' Missing From Srebrenica

AU0108192295 Paris AFP in English
1842 GMT 1 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Aug 1 (AFP)—Three weeks after the Srebrenica UN safe area in eastern Bosnia fell to Bosnian Serb forces, thousands of people are still missing, Red Cross officials said on Tuesday [1 August].

International Red Cross (ICRC) delegates working in the refugee camp set up in Tuzla, central Bosnia immediately after the enclave fell on July 11 have

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received 5,000-6,000 requests from relatives and friends anxious to know the fate of those still unaccounted for.

"We estimate that at least 5,000 people are missing, perhaps much more than this," ICRC spokeswoman Jessica Barry said Tuesday. She said this figure was based on the number of appeals received at the Tuzla camp which are cross-referenced to avoid duplication.

Of a possible 44,000 people the Bosnian authorities said were in the enclave to begin with, almost 30,000 have been registered in the Tuzla refugee camp with many now dispersed to more permanent accommodation. The majority are women, children, and the elderly.

Over the weekend, another 164 men were registered by the ICRC after Bosnian Serb authorities gave delegates permission to visit 164 detainees in a prison in Serb-held territory in eastern Bosnia. A further 44 males from Zepa, a second Moslem enclave Bosnian Serb troops overran on July 25 were also visited.

Barry said the ICRC also belives an unknown number of people are in a remote part of government-held territory near frontlines in the north east of the country, known as the Sapna thumb, 20 kilometers (12 miles) east of Tuzla.

The spokeswoman said the Red Cross was "pushing the Bosnian authorities to give us access so we may register these people." She could not explain why the international rights agency was refused access to this group, which could consist of men as well as women and children.

"One reason is that there is fighting there, but we know there are people in this area because we are regularly delivering food to the local Red Cross in the Sapna thumb," Barry said.

The majority of refugees were bused out of the enclave by the Bosnian Serbs after it fell. The massive ethnic cleansing operation lasted no more than 48 hours but led to numerous reports of abuses including rape and summary execution of those taken away.

At the time, Bosnian Serb General Ratko Mladic boasted to UN peacekeepers in the enclave that "hundreds" of men were killed. It is known that several thousand mainly men fled the enclave by striking out across Serb held territory for government areas to the north west. At least some of these reached the Sapna thumb area, government sources say.

These reports would account for some of the missing but not the thousands that have disappeared, aid officials said. Barry said the Bosnian Serbs have told the ICRC that there are more people in detention and Red Cross delegates would get access.

But another aid official who asked to remain anonymous said: "I will not be suprised if the ethnic cleansing continues at a quicker pace in a Serb concentration camp or that these unfortunates have been purely and simply, exterminated."

Wounded Still Unaccounted For

95BA0303B Ljubljana OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 20-27 Jul 95 p 5

[Article by Vehid Jahic: "Where Are the 88 Wounded? The Chetniks and the UNPROFOR Know Everything"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The account of Sevleta Begovic who, during the whole time of the Serbian-Montenegrin aggression, worked in the Srebrenica hospital.*

Of the exodus of the Bosnians from occupied Srebrenica, the public is aware that the trail of 88 wounded civilians, whom the UNPROFOR [United Nations Protective Force] accepted in Potocari, was "covered." Controversial news has been heard, and the ICRC [International Committee of the Red Cross] in Geneva has reported how Karadzic's Chetniks allowed representatives of this international organization to visit and register 46 wounded persons, who were withdrawn during the evacuation of the unlucky persons from Srebrenica. What is the status of the other 42 wounded people? For now it is a secret, about which one can only guess.

Sevleta Begovic (22), on the eve of the war a second-year student at the Medical Faculty in Sarajevo, who worked in a Srebrenica hospital the whole time of the Serbian-Montenegrin aggression, arrived in Tuzla. She told us in detail about the fate of these wounded persons.

A Hospital Full of Wounded

"When the Chetnik offensive began, the hospital was full of wounded, civilians and defenders. At our disposal were 14 rooms with seven beds apiece, but we had halls full of patients. I think there were about 200 of them. In the evacuation, 88 of the most seriously wounded were taken with two of our trucks and another two UNPROFOR trucks to Potocari. I was with them. The UNPROFOR had its hospital, but did not accept our wounded; rather, they provided us with field beds in a hall. In addition to them, there were many other sick and exhausted," said Sevleta Begovic, from Potocari, incidentally.

That night seven young women sought medical attention in order to give birth. They also gave birth in the hall. Sevleta was the "grandmother" to all the women who had just given birth. The Chetniks came on 12 July (Wednesday) in the morning.

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"When they came, panic broke out among the wounded and the civilians gathered. As soon as they came, they said they wanted to take away the medical personnel, explaining that they were members of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina. UNPROFOR members denied this and didn't allow them to do it. Only nurses remained with the wounded, because the Chetniks pronounced the doctors in Srebrenica 'war criminals.' It was painful and terrible. There were a number of amputees among the wounded. In the morning a 'local' came from Bratunac by means of whom the Chetniks brought bread to the UNPROFOR members. Savka Radic, a manager in a Bratunac self-service store before the war, was the chief figure in the distribution. She just walked around and observed who was caring for the wounded, and looked at each one. We were all frightened, especially at the news that they had massacred the men from the area of the Battery and Zinc Factory," said Sevleta Begovic.

After negotiations with the UNPROFOR, the Chetniks presumably agreed to evacuate the wounded to the free territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina. After the agreement?

"The UNPROFOR provided trucks, I think, onto which 88 wounded got. In fact, since some were not ambulatory, several fighters got into two UNPROFOR vehicles with the mark of the Red Cross. Two nurses accompanied the wounded on each of the trucks. In addition to the 88 wounded which they were taking to the free territory, another 20 wounded arrived in the meantime who remained in Potocari, under the control of the UNPROFOR," said Sevleta Begovic.

The wounded departed, the nurses with them. Sevleta remembers the names of some individuals.

"Enisa Kiveric was with them, Edina, the last name I don't know, Dzemila Mahmutovic, her friend Nermina and another girl whose name I don't know, but I know that Kadir also went with them, a medical technician from Nova Kasaba. As my colleagues have told me, the Chetniks stopped them in Tisca and questioned the wounded. They took some away, including the technician Kadir. Dzemila Mahmutovic told me that some Chetniks kicked someone by the name of Senahid, a student from Susnjar, and 'broke' his jaw. Otherwise, some of the wounded and all the nurses, and part of the wounded were returned by the Chetniks to Potocari. They remained with the Chetniks, just as all the people who came to Potocari fell into the Chetniks' hands," said Sevleta Begovic.

That means that, of the 88 original wounded who were supposed to be evacuated to free territory, the ICRC claims today that the Chetniks permitted a visit with and registration of 46 wounded. It should be kept in mind that the group cited is not the total number of wounded, but only part of the wounded about whose fate the public was informed on the first day of the exodus of the Bosnians from Srebrenica.

Mladic Also Demanded the Surrender of the Interpreters

Thanks to the instructions of an UNPROFOR doctor, Sevleta Begovic fled among the civilians and reached free territory. Before the departure she was witness to the announcement of some other crimes.

"The war criminal Mladic carried out negotiations with the UNPROFOR. I was present. While Ezmir Suljagic (21), son of Ibra from Voljevica, translated the talks, he wept. I learned that Mladic also demanded that the UNPROFOR deliver the interpreters to him. That was probably the reason for his weeping. In addition, other translators were Hasan Nuhanovic (27), son of Ibra from Vlasenica, a graduate student in mechanical engineering in Sarajevo at the time of the Serbian-Montenegrin aggression; his brother Muhamed (20); Mujo Nukic (24), son of Munib from Potocari; Almir (22), a student from Sarajevo and interpreter in the UNHCR (United Nations High Commission for Refugees); Emira (24) from Nova Kasaba; Atko (22) from Zepa; Vahid (27) from Suceska, a student; and Omer (26), a student from Konjevic Polje. I don't remember their last names. They took all of them away, as well as the wounded who stayed.

"I heard, but did not see, that the Chetniks killed the interpreters and 20 wounded and covered them with a steam shovel," said Sevleta Begovic.

It can be concluded from the account of Sevleta Begovic that the UNPROFOR can and should say something more about the fate of the 88 wounded whom they delivered to the Chetniks as well as about the interpreters. If nothing else, they should say how many wounded, interpreters, and refugees the Chetniks took. This is yet another page in the indictments against the crimes committed by Mladic, Karadzic, Milosevic, with the blessing of the head of the church, Paul.

Serb Accused of Crimes

95BA0303C Ljubljana OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 20-27 Jul 95 p 7

[Article by Dl. O.: "'Serbian' Administration of Srebrenica: the Government Is Also Passing Judgement on the Criminal"—first paragraph is OSLOBODJENJE introduction]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Miroslav Deronjic, now commander of the aggressor army in Srebrenica, is the main*

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organizer of genocide against the Bosnians in that region.

Prime Minister Dr. Haris Silajdzic said at a press conference that Miroslav Deronjic, commander of occupied Srebrenica, is a war criminal.

"Deronjic is a criminal, involved in the massacre in Bratunac, one of the organizers of the genocide. He will answer to and be severely punished for the crimes that he has carried out in this region," said Silajdzic.

Who is Miroslav Deronjic?

The state organs of Bosnia-Herzegovina basically suspect that this is a person who has carried out numerous war crimes. Deronjic was born in 1954 in the village of Gornji Megasici, and finished school at the Philosophy Faculty in Sarajevo. He was president of the terrorist SDS [Serbian Democratic Party] in Bratunac and the main organizer of the genocide in the village of Glogovo, where the Chetniks killed 64 persons, including three women, on 9 and 10 May 1992.

Adherents of Arkan and Seselj, "White Eagles," came to Bratunac on 7 April of the first year of the war at his invitation and committed serious crimes in that town. One day later, also on Deronjic's order, the police station in Bratunac was delivered by force to the terrorists' hands. After that, he was the organizer of the transportation of Bosnians to the concentration camp located in the former Vuk Karadzic school in this town, where he participated in various murders and torture of prisoners.

This is not the end of the dossier on the war criminal Miroslav Deronjic. Genocide against the people of Srebrenica is in progress under his command, the true extent of which is not yet known to the public. Deronjic has assured himself a place on the bench of the accused at the International Tribunal for War Crimes in The Hague.

Serbian, Bosnian Order of Battle in Srebrenica

95BA0303A Ljubljana OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 20-27 Jul 95 p 3

[Article by Sead Numanovic: "How Srebrenica Fell: Defenders With Hunting Rifles"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The so-called Drina Corps carried out the attack with tanks, reinforced with MUP [Ministry of Internal Affairs] specialists and elite units from Serbia. Defenders with hunting rifles and insufficient ammunition.*

Srebrenica was never a "protected zone." What few weapons and military supplies were left over or arrived through secret channels were expended in the defensive operations of our units of the 28th Division under the command of Brigadier Oric. When they grew weaker, the Chetniks attacked.

Under the command of Ratko Mladic, the attack was carried out by units of the so-called Drina Corps with 182 T-34 and T-55 tanks and four T-84 tanks, reinforced by special MUP units from that area and by elite units from Serbia, while an unnamed source from the 2d Corps of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina claims that a unit from Greece participated in the attack on Srebrenica. When Srebrenica fell, the Greek flag was hung on the orthodox church there. A high officer of the UNPROFOR [United Nations Protective Force], northeastern sector, also confirmed the presence of Greece, reading reports from the field that differed significantly from that which was presented to the public in a meeting of the UNPROFOR in Sarajevo.

Defenders Without Weapons

Permission, or the signal for the attack on Srebrenica, came directly from Slobodan Milosevic, who entrusted that mission to Mladic personally. In this case as well, there was an attempt to consolidate Mladic's undermined position following clashes with Karadzic, and every important move in the field was dictated from Belgrade.

Opposing the Chetniks stood the poorly armed defenders of Srebrenica. They had 200,000 rounds of ammunition at their disposal, and we cite the fact as an additional illustration that the line had, among other things, 200 hunting rifles with five cartridges apiece. No one can say that the people of Srebrenica did not defend themselves! But faced with the force that came at them and the indolence of those who should have helped, they had to yield.

Now, judging by the false reports in the media, one gets the impression that the people of Srebrenica were in chaos, that the army was mixed with the people, and that Srebrenica fell exclusively because of panic. But, it wasn't like that!

Only a small part of the soldiers mixed with the civilians, trying to defend their loved ones. The other, larger, and calmer part proceeded through the forest to Tuzla and it is certain that they penetrated to the Tuzla position with difficulty but very successfully. The Chetnik soldiers, who followed them, managed to capture part of the soldiers, but the greater part were on the way to the Tuzla position and only their testimony can complete the picture of the Srebrenica Golgotha.

They were awaited on the other side by the command and fighters of the 24th Division under the command of

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Brigadier Salih Malkic, reinforced with parts of the 28th Division of Brigadier Naser Oric. As we have learned from reliable sources, Oric, with a "sower of death" in his hands, advanced to meet the Srebrenica column. Knowing the quality of the units, it was basically hoped that the whole operation would be successful.

A Question of Responsibility

It is difficult to give an answer now to the question of who is guilty for the fall of Srebrenica, when the whole drama has not yet been completed. In any case, to blame just UNPROFOR is not advisable, simply because it is the constant international policy whose commands the soldiers are carrying out in the field. Anyone at all knowledgeable about Bosnian conditions remembers that the UNPROFOR located its staff in the area of the former Yugoslavia in Sarajevo, as well as a lot of forces, thereby expressing the wish of Cyrus Vance that the possibility that war would break out in our country should be prevented. When war erupted nevertheless, the first ones who fled were precisely the UNPROFOR generals. After such an act by the generals, what can be expected from the soldiers?

A suitable target for charges now is Brigadier Naser Oric, who has been living on the free territory of our country. His arrival is the result of a written order of supposed superiors. And when they summoned him, they did not order him to return to Srebrenica. If they did not believe him, because all sorts of stories are coming out of the enclave, why didn't any of them go to Srebrenica to convince themselves of the situation on the spot and send proposals for measures that should be undertaken.

The truth is that quite a bit could have been done systemically for the salvation of Srebrenica. Why this is not the case is no longer and cannot be a subject for journalists' analyses, but of the work of serious state services. The fact is indisputable that free Bosnian-Herzegovinian territory that is compact is gradually expanding and for that recognition should be granted to the generals. But one cannot avoid responsibility when such losses as the enclaves are in question.

In the end, the military consequences of the fall of Srebrenica are not so painful as the political ones, which this country will feel for a long time yet. For this we need many more forces.

Army Rejects Russian Troop Deployment in Gorazde

AU0108204495 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 1 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Today the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army Press Center has issued this statement:

Based on previous experience with Russian policy and its participation in the UN forces in the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Russian initiative to deploy Russian soldiers from UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] in Gorazde is an attempt to create the conditions for the fall of Gorazde. The machinations with Ukrainian Lieutenant Colonel [word indistinct] by the [Serb] aggressor in the criminal and genocidal attack on the people of Zepa illustrates perfectly how the deployment of Russian soldiers on the besieged free territory of Gorazde could turn into an infiltration of enemy forces in combat order. This is a way to try to create conditions for the aggressor to take Gorazde and commit genocide under the guise of helping Gorazde. Therefore the Russian initiative is completely unacceptable from the military point of view.

The people of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and their defenders are completely clear about the Russian policy, which is the most adamant about maintaining the illegal arms embargo, which ties the hands of the victim of aggression, while at the same time insisting on the lifting of the sanctions against the so-called Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which would enable the center of aggression on Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia, the Belgrade regime of Slobodan Milosevic, to complete the genocidal greater Serbian project. The devious games around Gorazde are only an expression of the practical realization of this policy, which openly supports crimes and genocide, reads the statement by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army Press Center.

Mladic Views Talks With UNPROFOR's Smith

AU0108135695 Banja Luka Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 31 Jul 95

[Report by Milka Tosic, including recorded statements by Bosnian Serb military commander Ratko Mladic]

[FBIS Translated Text] Today, the commander of the armed forces of the Army of the Serb Republic, General Ratko Mladic, and his associates, talked to Gen. Rupert Smith, UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] commander for the former Bosnia-Herzegovina. Milka Tosic reports.

[Tosic] We had very useful talks about many issues that are particularly topical on the territory of the western part of the Serb Republic. I informed Gen. Smith in detail about the involvement of the regular Croatian

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Armed Forces and their contribution to the deterioration of the situation in these areas, said Gen. Ratko Mladic after the talks with Mr. Rupert Smith.

Gen. Smith did not comment on today's talks, but briefly told the reporters that the issues discussed were the situation with the refugees from Glamoc and Grahovo, the improvement of the humanitarian situation in Sarajevo, and some issues regarding the former enclave of Zepa.

After the talks with Gen. Smith, Gen. Ratko Mladic, commander of the armed forces of the Army of the Serb Republic, visited the soldiers at the frontlines and assessed the situation in the western part of the Serb Republic by saying the following:

[Mladic] The people [passage indistinct] in an organized way [passage indistinct] from the areas under threat [passage indistinct] bodies of authority and the commands. The situation has become more stable, and I hope that things will get even better.

[Tosic] Will Gen. Smith (?be upset) if we say that regular forces of the Republic of Croatia attacked us? What is his (?impression)?

[Mladic] Gen. Smith knows that it was the Croatian Armed Forces that did it, together with the Muslims and the forces of the Croatian Defense Council. They have emphasized in their media that they did so legally, on the basis of the UN Charter, Article 51, which legalizes the involvement of a third force invited by the Muslims, which is, in this case, Croatia.

I pointed out that unless the Croatian Armed Forces withdraw, [passage indistinct].

[Tosic] Finally, the message to the people and the army in the western parts of the Serb Republic:

[Mladic] The message to the people and the army [passage indistinct] it is obvious that the war with the Croats is not over, [passage indistinct].

Mladic Reportedly 'Tired'

AU0108132695 Paris AFP in English 1301 GMT 1 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Aug 1 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb Army chief, General Ratko Mladic, has been "subdued" by the recent successes of Croatian forces in southwest Bosnia, a UN official said Tuesday [1 August].

The officials said Mladic met the UN commander in Bosnia, Lieutenant-General Rupert Smith, in the western Bosnian town of Mrkonjic Grad on Monday for talks on the recent escalation of fighting in the country. Discussion focused on the outbreak of serious fighting in southwest Bosnia, where Croatian forces have taken two southwestern Serb towns, and tension remains high in Zepa, one of two UN safe areas in eastern Bosnia overrun by Bosnian Serb forces in recent weeks.

"Mladic described in detail to General Smith the 'Croatian offensive,' as he put it, in the Glamoc-Grahovo area," a UN spokesman said.

"It was clear Mladic was very concerned with the situation and appeared unusally tired and subdued," Alexander Ivanko said.

Croatian Army regulars supported by Bosnian Croat militia took the Serb towns of Grahovo and Glamoc last Friday, punching through Serb defences in a three day offensive.

The gains represent a major setback for the Serbs, especially in Grahovo on the Croatian-Bosnian border where the town straddles a key route to the rebel Serb stronghold of Knin in Croatia.

Ivanko said that besides Mladic, three top Bosnian Serb generals, Manoljo Milovanovic, Milan Gvero, and Zdravko Tolimir, were in western Bosnia to assess the situation.

"The fact that four top Serb generals were (in the area) yesterday, one can deduce that the offensive in that area is of great significance to the Bosnian Serbs," the spokesman said.

At the meeting, Mladic also apologised to Smith for an attack on his helicopter Monday, attributed by the United Nations to Bosnian Serb forces on the ground, Ivanko said.

Karadzic Urges FRY To Halt Croat 'Aggression'

LD0108233595 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 2247 GMT 1 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Drvar, 1 Aug (SRNA)—Speaking in Drvar this evening, Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb Republic, called on the international community and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] to prevent the creation of a greater Croatia and a new genocide against the Serb people living west of the Drina River.

Saying that the situation created in the wake of the aggression by the Croatian Army against the Serb Republic and the seizure of Grahovo and Glamoc is a dangerous threat also for the Republic of Serb Krajina, President Karadzic said:

"Croatia has interfered in the war in former Bosnia-Herzegovina. It is now engaging enormous forces in

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fighting against the Serb Republic, but it also has intentions against the Republic of Serb Krajina. This is a continuation of WWII and an attempt at creating a greater Croatia."

"We believe the international community must condemn and place sanctions on Croatia's behavior," Karadzic said, at the same time asking the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia severely to condemn the Croatian aggression.

"Yugoslavia should help us in every way it can, because this is no longer a civil war, this is aggression. We have never accepted the disintegration of Yugoslavia," the Serb Republic president said, noting that the Council of Defense of the Serb Republic and the Republic of Serb Krajina would examine the newly created situation and take the necessary measures to halt further aggression by Croatia.

"We are resolved to oppose both Croatia and our enemies in former Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Croatian Defense Council and the Muslim army," Karadzic went on to say, appealing to all army conscripts and volunteers to rise to defend the Serb cause.

"It has never happened in the history of mankind that such a small nation fights a fourfold stronger enemy under the conditions of double sanctions," the Serb Republic president said, adding:

"The Serbs know well what an independent Croatia means, and therefore they cannot accept it."

The Serb Republic president met Milan Martic, president of the Republic of Serb Krajina, in Drvar this evening.

Serb Official Thanks ICRC, UNHCR for Aid

LD0108221295 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1935 GMT 1 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] (Bosanski) Petrovac, 1 Aug (SRNA)—Nikola Koljevic, vice president of the [Bosnia] Serb Republic and chairman of the state Committee for Cooperation With International Humanitarian Organizations, today thanked the International Committee of the Red Cross [ICRC] and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR] for their prompt reaction in sending in humanitarian aid to Serb refugees from Grahovo and Glamoc.

In his letter to Sadako Ogata, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, and Cornelio Sommaruga, the ICRC chairman, Koljevic says that these organizations promptly reacted, offering aid for approximately 20,000 Serb refugees who had to leave their homes in the face of the latest aggression by the Republic of Croatia against Bosansko Grahovo and Glamoc.

"It will be my particular pleasure to have you as my guests as soon as possible so that you can gain a personal insight into the situation and see the suffering the Serb civilian population is exposed to," Koljevic's letter says.

Serb General Denies 'Conflict' With Mladic

AU0108144095 Banja Luka GLAS SRPSKI in Serbo-Croatian 31 Jul 95 p 4

[SRNA report: "Croatia Media Lies"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 30 Jul (SRNA)—General Major Zivomir Ninkovic, air force and antiaircraft defense commander of the Army of the Serb Republic, in a public statement last night denied propaganda lies of the Croatian media.

"In light of the Croatia media reports about a conflict between myself and the Colonel General Ratko Mladic, General Staff commander of the Army of the Serb Republic, I maintain:

"This is an utter lie fabricated by the creators of the special war, whose main goal is to undermine the unity of the Serb Republic and provoke mistrust of the people in the southwest of the Serb Republic toward the General Staff commander.

"I maintain with full responsibility that the top military officials are completely unanimous in the defense of each part of Serb territory. General Staff Commander Colonel General Ratko Mladic has proven this on countless occasions in the war so far and he would never trade with any part of the Serb Republic—Serb territory," the statement ends.

Herzeg-Bosnia Official on Division of Territory

LD0108171695 Mostar Croatian Radio Herzeg-Bosnia in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 1 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] [Announcer] Following the splendid success of Croatian defenders and the liberation of Bosansko Grahovo and Glamoc, certain measures are being taken in these two municipalities in order to install, as soon as possible, civilian authorities and restore normal living conditions. Coming up is what we recorded earlier during our conversation with Vladimir Soljic, defense minister of Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia. We discussed the security situation in this area.

[Begin recording] [Soljic] The situation is, well, I should say we are in control of the situation. Civilian authorities are being set up. Our delegation, the government's delegation has visited these areas. In a few days, we will

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secure a level of living conditions that can be regarded as normal in these circumstances. Postal and communal services and other basic things, we are going to solve them. Our experience in the liberation of Kupres will help us in this. There is a somewhat different situation in Kupres now as there is a great deal of speculation as to whose these areas are, are they Croat or Serb or someone else's?

The passage of time has done its usual thing. These areas were Croat, then they became Serb due to a considerable period of systematic ethnic cleansing. Now, well, they belong to whoever is there.

[Presenter] What about the future? Any chance of the aggressor doing something about this?

[Soljic] The aggressor accounted for 32 percent of Bosnia-Herzegovina's population, i.e. less than one third. If the aggressor or anyone else for that matter believes that they should get twice as much territory per head, then, I cannot quite comprehend this kind of logic. Hence, the Croats merely advocate a solution whereby each people should be given as much as they are entitled to by any standards or criteria you decide to choose.

[Presenter] Should we say that the Croatian forces are not the same kind of force they were in 1990 or 1991?

[Soljic] We have heard, you probably know more about this as you work for the media, radio, all those various threats. We are simply not afraid. Sometimes they can even make us laugh. If we managed to face up to such a mighty army in 1991 or 1992, without any arms whatever, then we are certainly capable of doing the same now. All the more so because we are right on this matter, we absolutely do not demand anything more than we are entitled to by any standard. [end recording]

Commander of HVO Brigade Discusses Orasje

95BA0303D Ljubljana OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 20-27 Jul 95 p 8

[Article by H. Deronjic: "Defense of the Orasje Bridgehead"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Encouraging joint actions of units of the HVO [Croatian Defense Council] and the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina. There are no calculations with Orasje. Cutting the "corridor" is not an insurmountable obstacle.*

Martin Francesevic, commander of the 108th Infantry Brigade of the HVO, is a professional soldier who has completed military academy, an expert in missile systems, and, at age 32, one of the youngest HVO commanders. He is without rank because the 108th HVO Infantry Brigade is probably the only one in the HVO in which ranks are not assigned. The rationale for the conversation with commander Francesevic is the increasingly broad and solid cooperation between the Army and the HVO, which never came into question in the Brcanski areas.

[Deronjic] As far as war with the Chetniks is concerned, the Bosnians and the Croats in these Brcanski areas have always operated jointly. Now this cooperation is also increasingly evident in other areas of free Bosnian-Herzegovinian territory.

[Francesevic] Quite successful results have been realized during this year as far as the battle by both peoples against the aggressor is concerned and I think that, with regard to what has happened in central Bosnia and with regard to the disagreeable clashes between the Army and the HVO, we have succeeded in overcoming these contradictions relatively quickly. We have observed that the cooperation has proceeded more than well. What is particularly encouraging and what shows that this process is progressing well are the actions that have taken place first on the Kupreska battlefield, and here, in recent days to our satisfaction and pleasure, we have joint actions, or the inclusion of HVO units in lifting the blockade of Sarajevo. I think that this HVO involvement around Sarajevo will contribute to a more rapid and more effective restoration of the Federation than any kind of talks. It is indisputable that the army has been in the vanguard up to now of establishing the Federation, that it has always been one step ahead of politics, through military cooperation and joint action against a mutual enemy.

[Deronjic] As a rule, there have not been clashes between the HVO and the Army where it has been most difficult against the aggressor. Such is also the situation in the zone around the Posavski corridor. How do you evaluate the current degree of coordination and the level of cooperation between units of the HVO and units of the Army in that area?

[Francesevic] The cooperation has been shown in the best light numerous times. The most recent example in the Brcanski battle area is the defense of Boderiste. But, I would also mention Orasje here. In the past period, when the Serbian offensive against the Orasje bridgehead was taking place, both the 108th Infantry Brigade, from the south side of the corridor, and units of the Army, through electronic reconnaissance and fighting in terms of stretching forces or relieving pressure on Orasje, made their contribution.

[Deronjic] During the Chetnik offensive on Orasje, what are the stories about the calculations with this town, the only free one on that side of the corridor?

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[Francesevic] Orasje is very interesting for us. The moment when the enemy offensive began was very indicative. By way of reminder I will say that it began a day or two after offensive actions in western Slavonia, so that stories began to circulate that Orasje was some kind of object of political agreements. Karadjordjev was again mentioned, and again some secret agreements between Tudjman and Milosevic. However, the Orasje defenders denied all those rumors in the best way, inflicting a heavy defeat on the aggressor on the battlefield. We were witnesses here too, in the Brcki area, although Orasje is about 20 kilometers away, to the cruelty with which the Serbs attacked Orasje. But we were also witnesses to the fact that they did not succeed in doing anything, that they did not succeed in sweeping clean the Orasje bridgehead.

[Deronjic] What is the strategic important of the "Orasje pocket" for the defense or even the liberation of the Posavina?

[Francesevic] Orasje is important, among other reasons because of the fact that, with this bridgehead, thanks certainly to the defense from the southern side as well, the Chetnik "corridor" has been kept to 4-5 kilometers in width altogether. In one well-prepared action, as shown by western Slavonia, as well as Kupres and Vlasic, an area of 4 kilometers, although there is flatland here, it is not an insurmountable obstacle. I also think for this reason that the Serbs advanced to the Orasje bridgehead with the aim of breaking out to a natural border, the Sava, whereby they would have a safer rear and a more secure corridor in some way.

[Deronjic] In the interview that you gave to SLOBODNA DALMACIJA at the beginning of the year, you said that "at the moment there is no chance of cutting the corridor." How do you view that question today and what is the disposition of forces at the moment?

[Francesevic] At the moment the Serbs do not have many forces in the "corridor." We have information that the maneuvering Chetnik units that attacked the Orasje pocket have been partly withdrawn because of combat actions in other areas. Because it is now in the zone around the "corridor," I would say the standard disposition of forces. Whether anything changes significantly in the coming period depends, primarily, on how the overall war situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina develops. As far as we're concerned, we are working on the further organization and support of the MTS [Machine-Tractor Station] for the most important thing that awaits us. I believe that it will be the cutting of the northern corridor soon.

Abdic Expects International Recognition

LD0108115895 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0856 GMT 1 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Doboj, 1 Aug (TANJUG)—Fikret Abdic, president of the newly proclaimed Republic of Western Bosnia, has told GLAS SRPSKI that there has never been any incident with the Serbs and that he expects the international community to recognize the Republic of Western Bosnia; in other words, "the reality on the ground."

"In the future, we will only accept those who allow us to play our part," Abdic said. "I know that we will have big problems in getting them to recognize us and respect us as the fourth equal state entity in the area of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina. This will not dampen our enthusiasm and desire in the least to continue with our idea, which is to bring this war to a successful conclusion and restore all our territory," Abdic stressed.

Speaking about the future system in the Republic of Western Bosnia, Abdic emphasized that there is no intention of being measured against and compared with larger states, or even with what remains of that part of Bosnia controlled by the "alienated Sarajevo authorities." He said he is conscious of the fact that this little state can be compared with similar small countries like Liechtenstein, Monaco, and Luxembourg....

"This in essence is our model. To put it more simply, this is a neutral republic which takes as its starting point the fact that it can survive and have very good prospects only on the basis of a correct strategy and close cooperation with everyone, especially its neighbors," Abdic explained. "In this case, everyone will have an interest in supporting such a state, not only for our sake but, to a greater extent, for their own sakes. After all, for the time being we are the only practical proof of the need for peoples to continue to live in peace while maintaining goodneighborly relations. The fact that along the huge border with the Serb nation, both in the Republic of Serb Krajina and in the Serb Republic, we have never had any incidents, let alone armed clashes, is proof of this. We have always had peace with the Serbs and, during the war with the Croats, who are in a minority in our area, we respected them to the greatest extent," Abdic said.

Predicts Izetbegovic's Defeat

LD0108142595 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1326 GMT 1 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Bosanski Petrovac, 1 Aug (SRNA)—Fikret Abdic, president of the Republic of

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Western Bosnia, called on the most responsible members of the state leadership at today's meeting in Velika Kladusa to "make maximum efforts to create conditions for the development and reconstruction of the republic," Velkaton radio reports.

"The activities of all institutions will be public and nobody will enjoy privileges, from the president of the republic to the ordinary man," Abdic said.

"We must understand that the territory of the Republic of Western Bosnia is growing and thus there is a greater need for necessary goods," he said.

Abdic said that "everyone will receive their salaries when production is up and running, when we create sufficient stocks in the shops and warehouses," and added that this will "depend on the cessation of the war."

He said that he was pleased by the military successes of the People's Defense and predicted the imminent defeat of Izetbegovic's units.

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Government, Krajina Serbs Agree to Geneva Talks

AU0108114995 Paris AFP in English 1142 GMT 1 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Geneva, Aug 1 (AFP)—Representatives of the Croatian Government and Croat Serb separatists have agreed to hold UN-mediated talks in Geneva Thursday [3 August] to end the fighting in Croatia's Serb-held Krajina region, mediators said.

Thursday's meeting was arranged by UN mediator Thorvald Stoltenberg.

Stoltenberg Confirms Date

LD0108193595 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1921 GMT 1 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Oslo, Aug 1 (TANJUG)—U.N. mediator Thorvald Stoltenberg said in Zagreb on Tuesday that the Croatian government and Krajina Serbs had agreed to start talks in Geneva on Thursday.

Partners in the talks have made no conditions for the beginning of talks about all issues: political, military and economic, Stoltenberg told the news agency NTB.

Stoltenberg and E.U. [European Union] mediator Carl Bildt cochairman the international conference on the former Yugoslavia.

Stoltenberg said he expected that the Geneva meeting would ease tension between Krajina Serbs and Croatia. An agreement to meet does not imply an agreement on truce, he said.

Asked by the NTB to comment on the certainty of the meeting, Stoltenberg said that nothing was certain until the participants had sat at the negotiating table.

Stoltenberg confirmed that Croatian President Franjo Tudjman had agreed that the Geneva meeting be held, contrary to his earlier statements that he and the Croatian government would not talk with Serb Krajina representatives.

Krajina Serbs Name Delegation

LD0108175195 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1707 GMT 1 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Knin, 1 Aug (TANJUG)—The government of the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] today appointed a delegation for negotiations with the Republic of Croatia in Geneva.

The delegation includes Foreign Minister Milivoj Vojinovic; Lieutenant Colonel General Mile Novakovic; Ilija Prijic, adviser to the RSK president; and Lazar Macura, chairman of the RSK Assembly's Foreign Affairs Committee, says a statement issued from a session of the RSK government.

The talks are to take place on in Geneva on 3 August, the statement says.

Serb-Croat Talks in Turanj Fail To Take Place

AU0108183395 Petrinja Srpski Radio Krajina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1030 GMT 1 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The meeting brokered by Yasushi Akashi, special envoy to UN secretary general for former Yugoslavia, between Lieutenant General Mile Mrksic, the Republic of Serb Krajina Army commander, and Croatian Army Commander Gen. Zvonimir Cervenko, which was supposed to take place yesterday in the border village of Turanj near Karlovac did not take place after members of the Croatian delegation did not show up.

According to UN sources, the special envoy to the UN secretary general interceded with Croatian President Tudjman to allow Gen. Cervenko to go to Turanj. According to same sources, Gen. Pierre (Peter), head of the negotiating team of the UN Command in Zagreb, asked Gen. Cervenko to come to Turanj.

These two initiatives were of no avail, although the meeting between Gen. Mrksic and Gen. Cervenko was guaranteed by the six-item agreement reached in the talks between Akashi and the Republic of Serb Krajina leadership. This act outmaneuvered the peace efforts of the international community, particularly those of Akashi and the International Conference on Former Yugoslavia, who had been promised by the Croatian leaders that disputes with the Republic of Serb Krajina would be solved in a peaceful manner. Hrvoje Sarinic, head of the Croatian negotiating team for negotiations with the Republic of Serb Krajina, gave such a guarantee at a meeting with Thorvald Stoltenberg, cochairman of the International Conference on Former Yugoslavia. Miomir Zuzul, Croatian ambassador to the United Nations in Geneva, stated that Croatia would not resort to a military solution as long as there is hope of reaching an agreement through negotiations.

The Turanj meeting was a chance to establish a dialogue, but it is obvious that the Croatian side does not care about that. There is no doubt that the Zagreb authorities will justify this incorrect act, the outmaneuvering of the international factors, with a fabrication about the moves of the Krajina side. Yasushi Akashi condemned the Croatian authorities for being unwilling to cooperate with international peace mediators yesterday in Slunj. We have never been closer to negotiations between Zagreb and Knin, said Akashi.

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Tudjman, U.S. Ambassador Discuss Bihac

LD0108114995 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 1 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] President of the republic [Franjo Tudjman] received His Excellency Peter Galbraith, the ambassador of the United States, in Brioni today at the latter's request. The talks focused on the current situation in the occupied areas of the Republic of Croatia and in the UN protected zones in the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, especially in the Bihac area, after the more frequent attacks by rebel Croatian and Bosnian Serbs.

The U.S. ambassador expressed the full understanding of the U.S. authorities for Croatian policy and for the strategic and political importance of the Bihac area, and the need for the efforts of the international community to be directed primarily toward protecting this safe zone precisely.

The ambassador further stressed the need for extreme rationality in connection with the further development of events in order to avoid an escalation in the conflict. Galbraith also said the attacks by the Croatian Serbs on the Bihac area were completely illegal and that, in the spirit of the Split declaration, the international community supports the legitimacy of the Croatia-Bosniak alliance.

The president of the republic repeated the conditions he has set out before for a peaceful solution to the conflict. But he stressed that in the current circumstances Serb manipulation of either the Republic of Croatia or the international community could no longer be allowed.

Deputy Ambassador to UN on Krajina Situation

MS0208085295 London ITV Television Network in English 1800 GMT 1 Aug 95

[Interview with Vladimir Drobnjak, deputy ambassador to the UN, by Jon Snow; Drobnjak in New York, Snow in London; from the "Channel Four" newscast—recorded]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] [Snow] What will your government's bottom line be at Thursday's talks in Geneva with the Krajina Serbs?

[Drobnjak] The agenda item on the table must be talks on peaceful reintegration of the occupied territories with the rest of Croatia, in other words, Serbs must approach negotiations accepting the fact that they live in the Republic of Croatia and that they cannot amputate parts of our sovereign territory. On the other side, Croatia is ready to negotiate about their minority national constitutional rights, but this is rubicon Serbs must cross, otherwise talks will be futile.

[Snow] Well now, how serious is the situation if the talks turn out to be futile?

[Drobnjak] Well it's hard to judge what will be imminent tactical moves on the ground and how the situation will develop because, as you know very well, many options are still on the table....

[Snow, interrupting] Well, the most serious one is that there will be a major military strike by the Croatian Army?

[Drobnjak] Well, I cannot go into details what will be our imminent moves on the ground, but I can say that our strategic goal has been from day one to alleviate pressure on Bihac enclave and to prevent Bihac being overrun by Serbian forces. At the same time, our military moves created a new balance of strength in that part of the region and we hope that this will be a message to Serbs that this time they must seriously start talks.

[Snow] Right, that, in a sense, is the dynamic around the Krajina. The problem surely is that the implications for the wider conflict are very serious, because if things go wrong you could well drag President Milosevic in, and you could find a serious Croatian-Serb war on a much wider front than just the Krajina?

[Drobnjak] Well President Milosevic is, in a way, engaged in this war from day one and at this moment he still is...

[Snow, interrupting] The view in the international community, at least looking in, is that this is a very, very dangerous situation and that the potential for it to go very badly wrong, however much you may feel that the dynamic has changed on the battlefield, is very great?

[Drobnjak] Well, the situation out there is dangerous for many months. What we had done in recent days in Bosnia was something that the international community should have done a long time ago—to stop Serbian aggression and send a strong message to Belgrade.

Ministers on Return of Refugees to Kupres Area

AU0108140295 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 28 Jul 95 p 6

[Report by M. Priscan: "Back to the Kupres Plateau as of 1 August"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Zagreb—The return of refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina, accommodated so far in Croatia, to the liberated areas in Bosnia-Herzegovina was discussed in Zagreb yesterday by Mr. Adalbert Rebic, the Croatian minister for refugees and the head

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of the Office for Displaced Persons and Refugees, and Martin Raguz, the head of the Office for Displaced Persons and Refugees of the Croatian Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia and the deputy minister for refugees and social policy of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. After the meeting, reporters were informed about its contents. "We discussed very important issues: the opening of the process of refugees' return to Bosnia-Herzegovina, the extremely difficult humanitarian situation with the refugees from Srebrenica and Zepa, and concrete technical questions in connection with the coordination of the whole project for the return of refugees," Mr. Raguz, pleased with the issues agreed on, summarized the contents of the meeting with Mr. Rebic. "Although many questions are still open, because the Federation has not started functioning yet, we believe that the return of the refugees to the Kupres Plateau will start as of 1 August."

Mr. Rebic explained how the refugees presently accommodated in Croatia would return to Bosnia-Herzegovina. "After 1 August, the refugee status will be revoked for all those refugees from the Kupres Plateau who belong to the working population. The aim is to return all refugees to the Kupres Plateau by the end of the year. As far as the return of the refugees to other areas of the Federation in which there is no danger of war is concerned, we agreed that those refugees could return whose houses have not been destroyed or moved into by someone else, which will be confirmed by corresponding documents issued by the Office for Refugees in Mostar," Mr. Rebic mentioned.

Minister Rebic mentioned that approximately 360 refugees could return to the Kupres Plateau soon. "The first to return would be the working male population, who would repair the houses in the area. Although there are intensive war activities in Kupres now, I believe that this situation could motivate the refugees to return," Mr. Raguz says. He also said that the infrastructure and a medical center had been renovated in the area, and that a school should be completed by this autumn. This region has been considerably destroyed, but help has been announced by international organizations. The Swiss Caritas and the German Lutheran Alliance are, for example, ready to repair approximately 100 houses.

What would the refugees on the Kupres Plateau live on? "A sawmill and some other plants could start working immediately," M. Raguz says. Since Kupres is predominantly an agricultural region, Mr. Raguz does not see big hurdles for the inhabitants to start living there again. "A good thing for the people who should return there soon is that a considerable part of the livestock from the Kupres region has been preserved in Suica," he added. The head of the Croatian Office for Displaced Persons and Refugees says that the refugee status will remain effective for all those people for whom it is impossible to return, adding that the return of those refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina from the area of the Federation that are free and whose houses have not been destroyed will be gradual, well organized, and coordinated with the Office for Refugees in Mostar. "We shall make a classification of refugees," Rebic pointed out.

Yesterday, the two partners discussed only the return of refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina of Croatian nationality, and Mr. Rebic said that he would discuss the issue of Muslim refugees with the ambassador of Bosnia-Herzegovina as soon as next week. These talks will be followed by the talks with other representatives of Bosnian Muslim authorities.

SNS Accuses Government of 'Playing Tricks'

LD0108162195 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1547 GMT 1 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Zagreb, 1 Aug (SRNA-BETA)—The Serb National Party (SNS), the only parliamentary party of Serbs in Croatia, today accused the Croatian authorities of "playing tricks on their citizens" by engaging in military action in Bosnia.

Milan Djukic, chairman of the party, at a news conference, according to BETA, said that the Croatian authorities "have played tricks on their citizens by the direct interference of the Croatian Army in the Bosnian conflict, because prior to this they did not request their agreement for this action, nor did they hold a referendum on the restoration of the Muslim-Croat confederation." [passage omitted]

Armed Forces Celebrate St Vlah Day Anniversary

Special Forces Celebrate in Zagreb

95BA0278D Zagreb HRVATSKI VOJNIK in Serbo-Croatian Feb 95 p 9

[Article by G.L.: "Anniversary of the 1st Croatian Guard Corps"]

[FBIS Translated Text] At a reception for the occasion at the Home of the 1st Croatian Guard Corps [HGZ] at Zagreb's Peak, and in the presence of the highest military and civilian officials and a personal emissary from President Tudjman, Defense Minister Gojko Susak, the first anniversary of the unit that brings together the most elite members of the Croatian Army was formally celebrated. Welcoming the audience, the commander of the 1st HGZ, Major General Mile Cuk, emphasized that just a year had passed since the decision by Dr. Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic and commander in chief

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of the Croatian Armed Forces, to found that unit, and that it was already the most elite force of the Croatian Army, fully prepared to protect and defend sovereignty and to participate, if necessary, in operations for the final liberation of every part of the Croatian state. Many of the 1st HGZ's members rose up in defense of the Croatian state four years ago, creating what was then the core of today's Croatian Armed Forces. Croatia can always rely on them, because they have will, strength, and knowledge.

Congratulating the members of the 1st HGZ on their first anniversary on behalf of President Tudjman and on his own behalf, Minister Susak spoke about the days of Croatia's ordeal, the bestowal of the homeland, during the days of 1991, stating that the time would come when everyone would have to tell himself whether, at the crucial moments for the survival of the Croatian people and state, he had given the most that he could give. The members of the 1st HGZ had and would do so, because they had not been selected, but rather were handpicked from those who had not spared themselves to defend the homeland. This gave them even more of an obligation to their homeland, their commander in chief, the Croatian people, and themselves, Minister Susak said. At the end of the ceremony, Major General Mile Cuk distributed awards to those who had contributed the most to the development of the 1st HGZ.

President Decorates Units

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[Unattributed article: "Ceremonies Throughout the Homeland"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Throughout our homeland, ceremonies were held at which Homeland War medals were awarded to unit members who had made a significant contribution to the defense.*

Rijeka: At the HNK [expansion unknown] stadium in Rijeka at Kantrida, on 18 February, Homeland War medals were awarded to members of the 128th Rijeka Brigade of the Croatian Army, in the presence of high-level guests, including Brigadier Mirko Norac, commander of the Gospic Corps Region, and Rijeka Mayor Slavko Limic. The guests present and the members of the brigade were addressed by its commander, Major Vlado Hecimovic.

Metkovic: At a ceremony on 5 February in Metkovic, 57 members of the pioneer platoon of the 116th Croatian Army Brigade, today the 116th Home Guard Regiment, received 1990-92 Homeland War medals, with which they were decorated by President Franjo Tudjman. Along with numerous guests and the families of fallen defenders, the ceremony was attended by Brigadier Ivan Beneta and the commander of the 116th Regiment, Col. Josko Dragovic, who, in congratulating the pioneers on the decoration, pointed out the unit's wartime career, because they were the ones who, through their self-sacrificing work on setting up trenches and bunkers, building roads, and clearing mine fields, gave everything they had when it was a question of life or death for the Croatian people and their state, the Republic of Croatia.

Virovitica: At the Croatian Army House in Virovitica, at a ceremony for the occasion, one more group of members of the 127th Virovitica Brigade of the Croatian Army received 1990-92 Homeland War medals. The president of the Republic decorated officers, noncommissioned officers, and soldiers of the 3d Infantry Battalion, a logistical company, the VBR [multiple-rocket launcher] platoon, the MB [mortar] platoon, and the division's RBKO [expansion unknown] and POLO [light antitank weapon] platoons, and the medals were presented by the unit's commander, Major Mirko Kovacevic.

Zadar: In the presence of numerous guests, commanders of Croatian Army units, representatives of the Zadar-Knin Zupanija and the city of Zadar, and Assembly deputies from that area and a personal emissary from the president of the Republic of Croatia, Major General Ante Gotovina, on 18 February in Zadar posthumous decorations, 1990-92 Homeland War medals, were awarded to the families of fallen defenders of Zadar, and to disabled veterans of the Homeland War.

"We pay our deep respects to those who incorporated their lives in the foundations of the Croatian state, becoming and remaining a model for us," said General Gotovina, presenting the medals. "We expect an answer soon to the Croatian state's peacemaking positions, but we are likewise ready to respond rapidly and effectively to those who do not want to accept our offers...." To date, the 112th Zadar Brigade has been an important component of the Croatian defense, and it will be in the future as well, as a bulwark against the aggressor's attacks on the Zadar battlefields. The commander of the 112th Brigade, Col. Mladen Fuzul, and Zadar Mayor Bozidar Kalmeta also expressed thanks to the casualties among the defenders, saying: "It is always the best sons, the chosen ones of history, a beacon on our road, the knights who have fallen so that we may live, who fall in defense of the homeland."

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Military Parade in Dubrovnik

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[Article by Paulina Peko: "Croatian Army Units in a Procession"]

[FBIS Translated Text] This year, for the first time, representatives of domestic Croatian Army units from the southern battlefield participated in a ceremonial procession of banners through Stradun, in the traditional celebration of the feast of St. Vlah, the protector of the city of Dubrovnik. A group of officers, noncommissioned officers, and soldiers and representatives of the 39th Engineering Battalion; the 163d Croatian Army Brigade; the 1st Home Guard Brigade; the Molunat POTB [expansion unknown]; the Peljesac MOMP [expansion unknown]; the 16th Artillery Division; and representatives of the southern battlefield and the Military Police followed the relics of St. Vlah in a procession in which about 100 banners from the entire Dubrovnik-Neretva Zupanija and elsewhere participated.

Training Center for Armored Mechanized Units

95BA0278I Zagreb HRVATSKI VOJNIK in Serbo-Croatian Feb 95 p 23

[Article by Sinisa Haluzan: "Croatian Knights in Armor"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The equipment possessed by the Croatian Army's Training Center for Armored Mechanized Units in Pazin, as well as the level of education, are at an increasingly higher level every day, which is also the desire of the Defense Ministry, which, along with sympathy, also provides technical assistance for operations. Most of the officers at the center participated actively in the Homeland War, and have abundant wartime experience behind them, which they are successfully transferring to the young soldiers. A large number of those officers went through the Croatian Military School, where they refined their rich practical knowledge with theoretical knowledge, which is also the basic precondition for the effective training of soldiers.*

A multitude of articles that have appeared to date on the pages of HRVATSKI VOJNIK and other newspapers have been devoted to members of the Croatian Army's armored mechanized units, their successes on the battlefield, and also their creation. It is a well-known fact that during the first days of the enemy aggression, Croatia did not possess units of that type, and armored personnel carriers came into its possession only with the occupation of the barracks of what was then the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army]. With the fall of the Varazdin barracks, through which a large number of tanks and armored vehicles came into Croatian hands, the conditions were created for the creation of the First Mechanized Brigade of the Croatian Army, whose participation on the battlefield considerably influenced further events in the war. Today, almost four years after its creation, we have become daily witnesses of the accelerated development and improvement of the Croatian Army's armored mechanized units, and that was also the fundamental reason for our visits to the Croatian Army's Training Center for Armored Mechanized Units in Pazin.

Before we start to talk about the training center itself, however, we need to emphasize once again the details that accompanied the development of tanks and armored vehicles throughout their historical development, in order to realize better, in that way, the importance of this training center for the further development of the Croatian Army. Since their appearance at the beginning of this century, and their participation in two world wars and almost all local military conflicts to the present day, the tank has quite rightly won the epithet "king of land battles." As such, throughout its history it has been continuously improved, and so today, when it is equipped to the highest extent with modern technology and electronics, the tank requires from the one using it a high level of technical knowledge, as well as very definite psychological and physical predispositions. The education of soldiers and their daily improvement in handling a combat weapon like a tank or armored vehicle are precisely the basic task of the Croatian Army's Training Center for Armored-Mechanized Units [OMP] in Pazin. During our first visit to Pazin we spoke with the OMP Training Center's commander, Major Krunoslav Kovacevic, who was unfortunately absent this time, and we therefore continued the conversation with First Lieutenant Stjepan Cincibuk, assistant commander for public relations [PD], who familiarized us with this center's work in more detail.

Let us recall that the OMP Training Center in Pazin was officially established on 11 May 1992, mostly from members of the already disbanded 1st Mechanized Brigade, which arose with the fall of the Varazdin barracks. On that 11 May, which also marks the center's anniversary, the first soldier entered the Veli Joze barracks in Pazin, thus announcing the beginning of operations. It is necessary, however, to emphasize among other things that what was then the JNA, after its withdrawal in December 1991, left the Pazin barracks in a shambles, and it was therefore first of all necessary to renovate the existing facilities in order for the center even to begin operation. With a great deal of assistance and support from the Defense Ministry, the barracks was put in shape and turned over for use in May 1992. From then until the present day,

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the new recruits that arrive to perform their military service at this center, and are predisposed to form the crews of a tank or armored vehicle, have gone through very difficult and arduous training. After completing basic training, the new recruits at Pazin go through specialized training with various types of tanks and armored vehicles. The emphasis of the training is on creating the fundamental prerequisites without which the crew of a tank or armored vehicle could not function effectively. The psychological and physical capabilities of every individual are the basic step toward creating an entity, i.e. crew, drilled to the point of functioning automatically. The gradual introduction of every individual to the work is the next step through which a feeling for teamwork is created. Creating a tank crew means presenting each individual member with tasks that require extremely great efforts that are by no means easy to master, especially in real war conditions. A crew that consists of three to four people is exposed to very difficult conditions in a cramped and dim space, which, in the case of an individual who does not have adequate psychological preparation, can cause claustrophobia, which, combined with a feeling of fear, can have fatal consequences. It is not necessary to emphasize in particular what this would mean for a tank crew during combat. On the other hand, however, it is necessary to emphasize the way in which training is carried out effectively. The basic condition for its effectiveness, of course, is high-quality and professionally educated officer personnel who are capable of passing their knowledge on to young soldiers in the best way possible. The OMP Training Center in Pazin has that kind of officer personnel, and in comparison with similar training centers in other countries, also has some specific features that substantially differentiate it from them. In this regard, we are thinking primarily of the fact that most of the officers participated actively in the Homeland War and have behind them rich wartime experience, which they are passing on directly to the young soldiers. As training in armor is being rapidly improved, so are the officer personnel, and thus today the center has a large number of trained officers who have gone through the Croatian Military Academy, where they refined their rich practical knowledge with theoretical knowledge. Also significant is the fact that the soldiers spend part of their training in camps, from which they had just returned at the time of our visit.

The equipment possessed by the center, as well as the level of education, is at an increasingly higher level every day, which is also the aspiration of the Defense Ministry, which, in addition to understanding, is also providing technical assistance in its work. According to First Lieutenant Cincibuk, this center is also receiving a great deal of support from Brigadier Josip Zvirovic, chief of the Croatian Army's armored units, who also has his own vision of a plan for the center's development. Also, the very frequent visits by Brigadier Zvirovic and his cooperation regarding the progress of training have raised the morale of the training officers, and encouraged a more serious approach to the equipment among the soldiers. As we previously emphasized, the soldiers spent a large part of their training in camps, where the Guard brigade members' experience of the Homeland War is passed on and presented to each generation. That practice of combining wartime experiences and training has proven itself, in the work to date, to be very effective, and has also led to a large influx of qualified basic service soldiers to the Guard brigades. In addition to the above-mentioned professional part of the training of soldiers at the OMP Training Center in Pazin, a great deal of attention is also paid to the culture education of soldiers, as well as their participating more actively in the life of the Istria zupanija [county], on whose territory they perform their military service. For that purpose, the PD service has initiated a whole series of activities through which direct cooperation between Croatian Army members and the civilian population is achieved. That tendency to have the Army cooperate closely with the population of this region has been fully manifested through soldiers' active participation in the harvesting of grapes, the assistance provided in distributing humanitarian aid to displaced persons, of whom there are many in this region, as well as through cooperation with the Pazin Classical High School. We learned from First Lieutenant Stjepan Cincibuk that at the barracks one room has been equipped to serve temporarily as a chapel in which every soldier can perform his religious rites. Accommodating them, the Porec-Pula bishop, Monsignor Antun Bogetic, has given his approval to have the Gracisce parish priest, Franjo Matoic, act as military chaplain at the Veli Joze barracks. A memorial to Kristijan Ladavac, the first Pazin casualty in the Homeland War, has also been set up at the barracks.

Nevertheless, one of the most attractive activities is naturally the "Attention" radio program, which is broadcast by the Pazin radio station every Wednesday from 1900 to 2100, which is headed by First Lieutenant Stjepan Cincibuk, as the chief and managing editor, and by Sergeant Gianni Battaglia, and which is completely devoted to Croatian Army members. The broadcast is divided into two parts, the first of which is devoted to interviews with prominent Croatian Army officials, the families of casualties, displaced persons, and so forth. The second part is a call-in program that consists of greetings from listeners and musical requests. It is important to emphasize that the "Attention" program's

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team regularly visits the units residing on the territory of the Gospic Corps Region, and transmits their greetings to their families through the ether and likewise provides information about their stay in the field. The basic purpose of this broadcast is to become a Croatian Army news and entertainment broadcast, and it is also desired that other Croatian Army units also make use of this experience in order to have the Army grow as close to the population as possible and thus achieve permanent ties. This desire has been fulfilled here, as least as far as Pazin and the zupanija are concerned.

Training of Artillery Unit Described

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[Article by Tomislav Prusina: "General-Purpose Artillerymen"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] After the successful fulfillment of all the plans last year, the education and improvement of personnel in all conditions have been continued. The artillery unit of the 1st Battalion of the 3d Guard Brigade could thus be seen on the military training field, in spite of the snow and the extremely cold wind.

In a conversation with First Lieutenant Zlatko Bratic, the artillery unit's commander, we learned that 82-mm and 60-mm mortar sections had been added to the artillery battery. After previously going through the theoretical part of the training, which lasted four months, it is also necessary to practice everything already acquired in the field, in different weather conditions. After receiving an assignment, the combined artillery group, in support of an attacking unit, occupies observation posts and assesses the situation in the field. After that, a firing position and observation position are chosen, and measures are taken for combat safety and preparation of the initial targeting elements. All of these activities are practiced until they become automatic.

A real working atmosphere prevails among the members of the 1st Battalion of the 3d GBR. The combination of experience acquired on battlefields and youth, which rapidly masters all knowledge, leads to the fact that every firing position functions flawlessly. The well-prepared and planned training contributes a great deal to this.

According to Atila Farkas, commander of the artillery battery's command platoon, the essence of training is instilling automatic responses within the command platoon, and speeding up the work of the scout, the calculator, and the communications section. Furthermore, the aim is to create new personnel capable of working in all locations, general-purpose artillerymen, and this training was completely successful in that regard.

Before arriving in the field, the members of the 1st Battalion of the 3d GBR passed so-called entrance tests, aimed at testing the theoretical knowledge of every artilleryman. The demonstrated knowledge of every member of the 1st Battalion was above expectations, which is also proof of their serious approach to this job. A second demonstration test will be taken after the field training, after which a final assessment of the training can also be given.

"We succeeded in inspiring people to show great interest in the job that they are doing. Out of a unit that acquired experience during the war, we created an army that has discipline, along with full responsibility. We are already prepared to carry out completely all assignments given to us under any conditions and on any terrain," said Atila Farkas, commander of the artillery battery's command platoon.

Organization, Leadership of Virovitica Battalion

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[Article by Gordan Lausic: "Readiness—At Once"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *"The best of the best, or else they do not exist"—that sentence sums up the members of the unit whose guests we recently were, the Virovitice "Godfathers," the 81st Guard Battalion of the Croatian Army, a guard battalion that can be proudly said to be the heir of the Virovitica volunteer units that lit the spark of freedom back in 1990.*

Virovitica, the city that is the vestibule of Slavonia, of a domesticated plain, of a person with an open soul and heart; a city that during the Homeland War played one of the crucial roles in organizing the Croatian defense, due precisely to its populace, the people who lit the spark of freedom back in 1990. Virovitica, and we all know this very well, was supposed to represent the western boundary of the Serbs, in accordance with the already well-known Virovitica-Karlovac-Karlobag line. Even before the elections themselves, when it was well known that the people of Virovitica had chosen to be on their own, the small Serbian population in the city and its vicinity was preparing for war.

Realizing that there was no choice, and that freedom would have to be won by force of arms, as early as the fall of 1990, more precisely on 28 September, volunteer defense units were being formed, which, as reserve units for the Ministry of Internal Affairs, defended the most important facilities in the city with insufficient weapons, primarily hunting rifles. Events proceeded at lightning

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speed: the formation of the volunteers in January; the arrest by the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] of the creators of Virovitica's defense, headed by Major General Djuro Decak, the current commander of the Croatian Army's Osijek Corps Region; the protests in front of the military court building in Zagreb; the clear culmination of the desire for freedom; the creation during June of the 50th Independent ZNG [National Guard Corps] Battalion; the Pakrac and Vukovar battlefields...until the moment when the Croatian flag began to flutter for the first time on Croatia's state border, the barracks were conquered, and more than 250 trucks, 30 armored combat vehicles, and tons and tons of weapons, ammunition, and military equipment were captured, which actually meant the end of the existence of the nonpeople's JNA, the battlefields on which the 127th Croatian Army Brigade proved itself... the known and unknown heroes who never spared themselves, all to achieve the thousand-year-old dream, a free Croatian state.

Today, the people of Virovitica have their own "Godfathers," the 81st Guard Battalion of the Croatian Army, headed by Colonel Renato Romic, a veteran of the Homeland War, and a person who clearly tells his subordinates: "Either we will be the best, or we will not exist." Just a glance at the Virovitica barracks, the "Godfathers'" headquarters, clearly indicates the discipline that is at the highest level here. "The idea of forming a professional Croatian Army guard battalion in Virovitica existed a long time ago, since the beginning of the demobilization of the 127th Brigade. On the basis of the desires expressed, at a meeting on 10 February 1994, when we were visited by the chief of the Croatian Army General Staff, Corps General Janko Bobetko, the commander of the Osijek Corps Region [ZP], Major General Djuro Decak, and Major General Ivan Basarac, where they also had an opportunity to convince themselves of our capabilities and readiness, work started on implementing the concept, resulting five days after that, on 15 February, in an order to form the 81st Croatian Army Guard Battalion," we were told by Colonel Romic, who continued, "We immediately had more than 4,500 candidates for admission, and through strict selection, 2,800 of them were chosen, from whom, through further selection, rigorous preparations at the guard training center under the leadership of experienced instructors, we obtained the battalion's soldier and command personnel.

"It is extremely important that these were also mostly volunteers from 1990 and 1991, and the entire command corps of the 'Godfathers' consists of people who were among the first to move, proving themselves on all the Croatian battlefields.

"It is precisely those best ones who have the moral strength, capability, knowledge, and also command decisiveness when necessary to be able to lead, and actually take the lead for their soldiers. All of that results from one fact that must never be forgotten. In 1990 the Virovitica municipality only had 25,000 residents, of whom 7,000 were later members of the Croatian Armed Forces or still are." The conversation was interrupted by an urgent summons to one in a series of meetings. With a promise that we would meet again sometime, but somewhere in the field, we said farewell to Colonel Romic and left so that we could experience for ourselves one day with the "Godfathers."

While we passed through the barracks, a model of how every Croatian Army barracks should look, we were seized by a feeling of pride that we were part of a time when history was being made and the Croatian state and Croatian Armed Forces were being created. Equipment, tanks, and cannons were lined up in hangars, at an immediate level of readiness.

In the classrooms, virtually small auditoriums, part of the 81st unit practiced formation actions, while another part repeated the basics of military equipment and military skills as part of daily education. On the other side of the corridor were dormitories, with beds lined up precisely. Under the influence of everything that we had seen, we left the Croatian "West Point," so that we could transfer our fresh impressions to paper. Our hosts said farewell to us with a smile, because, as they said, "We will only accept congratulations when the last inch of Croatia is free, and until then there will be no rest, discipline, work, and increasing readiness, because we will either be the best of the best or we will not exist."

History, Development of Zepce Military Units

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[Article by Ivo Mrkonjic: "We Know We Should Go Further"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *St. Ante's day, 1992, in Posuski Gradac. Before a multitude of people, high-level military, civilian, and church leaders of the Croatian people, the founding of the Croatian Defense Council's [HVO] first professional unit, the Ante Bruno Busic [ABB] Regiment, was celebrated. There was little time for joy; the enemy was attacking on all sides. It was necessary to leave immediately for the field. Some young members of the ABB Regiment received an order to form a professional battalion in Zepce. In June 1992 the war career of Zepce's famous Andrija Tadic battalion from the ABB Regiment began. Today, it is the 3d Infantry Battalion of the 1st Guard Regiment, Busic's pride.*

With the arrival of instructors from the ABB Regiment in Zepce on 18 June 1992, veterans of the Homeland

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War, members of the Bosnian Dragons, gathered around them. Although they came from that region, they acquired their war experience in defending Croatian soil against the aggressors' boots on all the Slavonian battlefields.

With approval from the Zepce HVO, a location for a base was obtained in Osova. That small town, 5 km from Zepce, became a second home for the unit's members. They spent almost two full years there. When the arrival of the instructors from the ABB Regiment was announced, on the very first day, 20 June, about 30 young men appeared in Osova. Knowing that the war had almost reached Zepce, they had only one desire, to learn how to defend their families. Within 10 days the unit numbered several hundred members. Everyone was clearly told where they had come and what awaited them. The beginning of the instruction was so arduous, however, that about 20 of the weakest ones gave up. In view of the amount of energy and knowledge needed, that really was not many. The training was interrupted after almost two months. News had come from the Croatian areas of Komusina about the entry of enemy forces and the expulsion of Croats.

Intervention platoons constantly went into action from the Kulin Ban Battalion, as the Zepce battalion was known then. They barely managed to "patch up" the places at which the established lines of the then still insufficiently armed Komusina HVO were cracking. The situation was then becoming more and more serious, many people died, many were killed, and women and children were leaving their homes in columns.

The Kulin Ban Battalion, in full force, left for Komusina's defensive lines. They had even been partly abandoned in some places. In occupying one such line, part of the battalion directly encountered a group of aggressors. The enemies then paid dearly for their self-confidence with heavy losses of personnel. They began uncontrolled shelling of the defensive line, and a rain of deafening shells showered us. Not one member of the battalion retreated backward by a single millimeter. In that brief training, the awareness had been instilled in everyone that one must not and could not retreat from defending Croatian soil, and that everyone had to guard his fellow fighters. In those crucial moments of their first combat experience, the fighters defeated fear, and the unit acquired the morale that still distinguishes every soldier today.

In spite of everything, an order to withdraw from those areas was received because of the reinforcements that reached the enemy. It was burning on all sides. But we know who established the new defensive lines, what was then the Kulin Ban 5th Battalion of the ABB Regiment. The group of instructors from Herzegovina calmly returned to their parent unit, knowing that the task of training and equipping the Croatian soldiers had been fully carried out.

Mirko Jakovljevic and Marko Keskic became the commander and deputy commander of the Zepce battalion, both having been trained and hardened in the Croatian Army's special-purpose units. In August 1992 the unit's first member died, Andrija Tadic. Since then the unit has been named after him. At those times, when a fellow fighter died, the true bitterness and brutality of war was realized. The fighters grew up much, much faster.

Concentrating strong and fresh forces, the Serbs struck powerfully against the positions on the Dubrava. The HVO units were forced to consolidate back-up positions at Hatkine Njive. The fall of that line would have meant the end of the line for the entire area around Zepce, and even for Zepce itself. Knowing this, the Serbian forces tried day and night to take Hatkine Njive. The HVO sent all the special units into the field, and the Andrija Tadic professional battalion received a forward wedge-shaped position to guard. For two full months, October and November 1992, the enemy tried to break through our positions but did not succeed. They even included helicopters in the attacks, and many members of the battalion experienced for themselves the full terror of the explosion of tank shells, artillery, PAT's [probably antiaircraft guns], and who knows what else they fired at us. After the attacks died down, there were many wounded, and everyone was exhausted. Then the offensive against Maglaj started.

Following orders, the battalion, led by Mirko Jakovljevic and Marko Keskic, left for Maglaj. We found the members of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army in collapse as they abandoned the attacked line that was crucial for the city's defense. Jovici, as the line was called, was literally cooking. The number of shells that fell on that small area was unheard of even for those members of ours who had gone through the hell of the battlefield in Croatia with the Bosnian Dragons. Our deputy commander, Marko, died, and about 10 of the fighters were wounded. The price that the battalion paid to defend Maglaj was so high for everyone that it can never be forgotten.

The enemies changed their tactics, and began to attack Maglaj from the northeast. Once again we got a hot zone, named Plane. We all remember one day in that area. During the strong thundering of shells, the fighters noticed an armored train moving toward the city from the direction of Doboj. In just one second of fear, disbelief, and surprise, the essential thing was realized, if the train got through, Maglaj would fall! The line

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was just about 100 meters from the tracks, to the side. The train was coming at a constant speed of about 15 kilometers per hour. No one expected that move by the aggressor. Everyone wondered why Maglaj was so important to them, because courage and a considerable number of personnel were needed for that attempt to break through to the city. It lasted for several minutes. A recoilless cannon, (OSE [expansion unknown]), hand-held rocket launchers, and grenade launchers in the hands of professionals set fire to the iron monster. In a black cloud of smoke, the train sluggishly began to retreat.

The attacks against Maglaj weakened in mid-1993, and the Maglaj HVO took over "our" line at Plane.

The celebration of the first anniversary of the founding of the Andrija Tadic battalion, in June 1993, had just passed, and the war records had just been reviewed, when an order came from Zepce for full combat readiness. On 24 June 1993, the enemy fanatics invaded the city. The battalion received orders to enter the city and help the already surrounded military police, Interior Ministry, and the headquarters itself. On the first day two members of the battalion died, and 11 of them were wounded. It was all or nothing, Zepce had to be Croatian. What the Muslim fanatics' vileness was like can be seen from the fact that all of the dead and wounded had received wounds from sniper fire. The battles for the city lasted five days. Almost half of the battalion's members were wounded.

We could not cure our exhaustion by resting; we were sent every day to intervene at nearby elevations that were crucial for saving Zepce, and we did not return unscathed from a single action. Nevertheless, throughout that wartime period, new members were constantly reaching the battalion. We remember 16 August 1993, when enemy special forces invaded the town of Bistrica, just a few kilometers from Zepce, shooting at everything that moved. Although it incurred heavy losses, the enemy succeeded in withdrawing while taking away civilian hostages, women and children.

The time has yet to come when the pages of the Zepce Andrija Tadic battalion's rich war history will be written. The memory of the battalion's commander, Mirko Jakovljevic, who survived five serious war wounds and departed so senselessly after a traffic accident, can never disappear from the hearts of those who know what Mirko was.

After the cease-fire was signed in February 1994, the unit withdrew to the base in Osova, where it continued the life and work begun so long ago in 1992. To the great regret of all the battalion's members, we were not present in Capljina on 17 April 1994, when the ABB Regiment swore its oath to the homeland as the 1st Guard Brigade. The Andrija Tadic battalion became the 3d Infantry Brigade. In May, following orders, the first groups of Guards left for Capljina, with a question in their hearts about whether the war in Zepce and its vicinity was really over. On 4 June 1993, the 3d Infantry Battalion, in its full complement, stood in formation in front of the standard at the Bozan Simovic Barracks. Getting used to the work and conducting training in accordance with a new plan and program were conducted without difficulties, and the months easily passed. We could hardly wait for short-range exercises. The Jajce 120-mm mortar battery soon became part of the battalion. During the Homeland War, Hrvoje's Sons frequently supported the ABB Regiment's battalions. Now they had finally become Busices themselves.

Toward the end of October, after the order for full combat readiness, moments of recollections of the past war in Zepce also came. The difference in the unit's mood was noticeable. In Zepce, people went out into the field hastily, in a panic; everything was sort of on a volunteer basis as to who went. Now, however, without an uproar and haste and without any disagreements whatsoever in the preparations, we coolly and professionally saw the goal in front of us, knowing that we would recover what was ours, what was Croatian. With brilliant support from the antiaircraft defense and the mortar battery, the 3d Infantry Battalion, headed by commander Stanko Knezevic, entered the villages of the Kupres plateau that were in the direction of our penetration. Unfortunately, the battalion never got through an action without losses. Our scout/guide from Kupres died in an early morning attack, and Marko Lupic lost his right leg. After strong tank and artillery shelling, the 3d Infantry Battalion entered the village of Rilice, linking up with all the other HVO units that were operating in that direction. On 4 November, we entered Kupres.

After all of this, there was no time to relax. The lines were fortified, and the scouts left for the interior of the enemy area. We were alert, listening for the sound of war drums from any side. We knew that we needed to go further!

Combat Helicopter Squadron Viewed

95BA0278C Zagreb HRVATSKI VOJNIK in Serbo-Croatian Jun 95 p 93

[Article by Robert Baric: "Combat Helicopter Squadron"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *In a very short time, the members of the Combat Helicopter Squadron succeeded in mastering a new aircraft in the HRZ [Croatian Air Force]*

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inventory, the Mi-24 combat helicopter, as was vividly demonstrated to us during our visit to this unit.

The appearance of new aircraft in the inventory of the HRZ has aroused a great deal of interest among our public, but also the foreign public. This was especially true of the Mi-24 (Hind) combat helicopter, publicly presented for the first time at the Pleso ZB [Air Force Base] on Statehood Day last year. The Mi-24 very quickly demonstrated its exceptional combat capabilities in the Poseidon 94 exercise, held last November, in which the crews of these aircraft showed what they knew and could do.

Desiring to acquaint our readers with this new combat weapon in the HRZ's inventory, we visited the Combat Helicopter Squadron, the "Mosquitoes," at the Pleso ZB, following the activities of its members, pilots, and also the ground crew in carrying out their daily tasks.

The first thing that we saw after arriving at this unit was the impressive view of several Hinds lined up, which the members of the ground crew were preparing for takeoff.

One can discuss whether the Mi-24 combat helicopter is beautiful or not, but one cannot dispute one fact, that this aircraft looks impressive! When you see the Mi-24 with its full combat complement of guided and unguided missiles, this thought inevitably occurs to you, regardless of whether you have already seen this sight only once or a dozen times. A fully armed Mi-24 is an embodiment of speed and power, as well as a deadly threat to any enemy. While we watched the everyday activity around the helicopters lined up on the apron, the Combat Helicopter Squadron's commander, Major Drazen Scuri, briefly described for us the unit's history to date. "Although the squadron was established only when the Mi-24 helicopters were procured, its members have participated actively in the HRZ since 1991," Major Scuri said, "first as part of the Combined Transport Squadron, and later in the Transport Helicopter Squadron at Lucko, where they completed their retraining for the Mi-8 helicopters. Toward the end of 1993, with the arrival of the first Mi-24's, the squadron began to operate with its present composition. The retraining from the Mi-8 for the Mi-24 was carried out in a very short time."

The retraining itself, in spite of a certain similarity between the Mi-8 and Mi-24 helicopters (many solutions from the transport Mi-8 have been carried over to the Mi-24's design), was not easy, because they are nevertheless essentially two helicopters with different purposes; in spite of this, the pilots successfully mastered this new combat weapon in the HRZ's inventory, as they have demonstrated in numerous exercises. In the Bandira 94 and Lonja 94 exercises, they demonstrated providing fire support and conducting antiarmor combat, and the culmination of all the efforts invested in training and performing tasks was the Poseidon 94 exercise, in which a demonstration firing of a 9M114 antitank projectile was carried out.

The Mi-24 (Hind) combat helicopter is this unit's work horse. In contrast to combat helicopters manufactured in the West (which are specialized exclusively for antiarmor combat), the Mi-24 is capable of both conducting antiarmor combat and also providing fire support and conducting antiguerrilla operations (the latter is facilitated by the possibility of carrying up to eight soldiers in the helicopter's transport section). The basic means of conducting antiarmor combat is the Sturm 9M114 PT [expansion unknown] guided projectile (range up to 5,000 meters, armor penetration of 280 mm at an angle of 60 degrees), whereas for fire support they usually use honeycomb launchers with unguided S-5 57-mm unguided air-to-surface missiles (although it is also possible to use different types of bombs). All of this allows the Mi-24 great operational flexibility in carrying out combat missions. The Mi-24, however, can also be used for other tasks, such as, for example, medical evacuation, for which unarmed Mi-24's are used.

Regardless of the kind of mission involved, standard operating procedure is always followed, as we could see during a practical combat mission exercise. Today's assignment, which was carried out by a pair of Mi-24's, was practice in providing fire support, unfortunately without "real" combat fire; after all, this is rarely done even by other countries' air forces, electronic devices that simulate firing the weapon and striking (or missing) the target are used much more often. That is a standard practice in the air forces of many countries (this allows saving resources in training, without a loss of quality).

The first step in carrying out today's assignment was a mandatory medical examination; only pilots in top condition can fly the Hinds. Next after this was executive flight preparation (a "briefing"), a preflight agreement in which all the details associated with the performance of the mission are coordinated. The most important thing is to coordinate the flight of the Mi-24's with the flights of other aircraft in the area of the exercise, in order to eliminate completely the possibility of undesired events (i.e., the possibility of a collision between an Mi-24 and some other aircraft). Possible changes are indicated in the time of the takeoff, the performance of the mission, and the return, cooperation with ZMIN [expansion unknown], and dozens of other details necessary to carry out the mission successfully.

In the meantime, the ground crew was conducting a preflight inspection of the helicopters that would participate in today's exercise. Their job is extremely

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responsible, for the simple reason that the Mi-24, like all other helicopters (with the exception of the Russian Ka-50 Hokuma), does not have the capability of ejection in the event of a breakdown, and since combat helicopters spend most of their time at extremely low altitudes, in order to avoid the enemy's antiaircraft defense, even the smallest breakdown in such circumstances, flying at high speed, can have fatal consequences.

Finally, everything was ready. We climbed into the fairly cramped transport compartment of one of the two Mi-24's that would carry out today's assignment. While we were seating ourselves in the transport compartment the technicians finished their final checks. "Are you ready?" the pilot asked over the intercom. In response to our affirmative answer, the engine started: first the almost unnoticeable sound of the turning of the main rotor, which grew in a few seconds into thunder, after which both engines started operating at full power. There was a slight jerk, and then we were already in the air!

As soon as the helicopters left the settled area, they went to low-altitude flight. Flying at this low altitude at a speed of 200 km per hour requires exceptional skill on the part of the pilot... One mistake, and it is better not even to think about what would happen.

Suddenly, the helicopters accelerated even more. We approached the area of the target, and the simulated attack began. The targeter activated the electrooptical aiming system... a few more seconds... the target was acquired... now! If it had been a real combat situation, at this moment both helicopters would have launched a salvo of unguided air-to-surface projectiles.

After carrying out the attack, both Mi-24's accelerated and withdrew from the area of the target, making sudden course changes as required in order to avoid the enemy fire that would have inevitably occurred in a real war situation. In order to endure that maneuvering, it is necessary to have an "iron stomach"; in any case, before this exercise it is better not even to think about going to lunch... after the exercise, perhaps, if you are able to.

During the return, the pilots demonstrated one of the techniques for conducting antiarmor combat, an attack from cover. In spite of its massive appearance, the Mi-24 is an extremely mobile aircraft: In this type of attack, the helicopter hovers behind cover (the cover can be a house, small hill, grove, and so forth), and then suddenly jumps up to a low altitude, acquires the target, and launches a Sturm projectile. After the target has been neutralized, the helicopter returns to the protection of the cover and changes its position, flying at a low altitude. The assignment had been completed, and we returned to the base. That did not mean, however, that the work day was over. The mechanics immediately started inspecting the aircraft, and the pilots analyzed the exercise that had been conducted. The completion of one work day constitutes preparation for the next day's training, which takes place here constantly. Old knowledge is constantly consolidated and new knowledge is acquired. That is inevitable, because the members of the Combat Helicopter Squadron always have to be ready, if necessary, to show any enemy that their strike can be extremely deadly.

POLITIKA on Babic's Political Moves

AU0108172195 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 29 Jul 95 p 7

[Article by R. Kovacevic: "Babic in Windblown Position"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Assembly of the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] last night in Topusko accepted Milan Babic's proposal for a new government. According to the first reports, his cabinet will have 15 ministries and six ministers without portfolio. With this new team, the RSK is entering a dramatic period that could cause a turnabout or perhaps a denouement.

Even a superficial analysis reveals some interesting things. Out of 84 deputies, only 61 attended the session last night. The beginning was postponed several times in order to achieve the quorum, but what won the day was the report that General Mrksic, commander of the RSK Army, was to convey to the Assembly on the front situation and generally the finesse of the defense in the wake of the Croatian forces' penetration towards Grahovo and Glamoc.

Milan Babic was also expected to present his program and, thus, say what new and improved quality he is offering compared to what the previous government did. However, the only thing given was a bare announcement on the new cabinet's composition. Had the circumstances been normal, Babic's behavior would have certainly caused a commotion, because he composed his team mainly from the ruling Serb Democratic Party of Krajina (11 posts), and the Serb Democratic Party of Serb Lands and the Radicals were given four and three posts respectively. One immediately notices that the government does not include a single member of the Socialists, for whom it is known that they implement Slobodan Milosevic's policy.

Physical Education and Diplomacy

The impression acquired is that, in order to be able, after trying for two months to nevertheless compose a government, Babic used a tactic that was bound to cause

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unpleasant questions. This, above all, refers to the fact that featured on his list are mainly parliament members. This is why it happened that only 45 deputies voted for him, which is only two votes above the critical number ensuring a majority. The meaning of this can be seen from the fact that as many as 15 deputies from Babic's list for the new government were sitting in the assembly benches. People were raising their hands to literally vote for themselves.

The quality of the Serb Democratic-Radical government is bound to incite special attention in the coming analyses. The post of energy minister was given to a mathematics teacher who, by the way, is not living on RSK territory. The minister of industry is now somebody who previously dealt in farming and has so far had nothing to do with industry. The situation with finances is similar: This ministry has been given to the previous head of the Krajina customs. The ultimate was reached with the foreign minister, who is a teacher of physical education.

The real novelty is the ministers without portfolio, who are supposed to be some sort of coordinators for individual regions. This could be the first sign of Babic deciding in favor of the institute of county, something that he used to clearly make impossible to the previous government. However, by this way again, one establishes direct control from Knin, as five out of these six ministers are deputies. They are under the prime minister's direct control as some sort of "governors" in the field.

Is Martic's Position Becoming Wobbly?

The Knin lobby is extremely overpowering again, because coming from there or the environs, apart from the president of the republic and the prime minister, are the Assembly chairman, some of the key ministers, the National Bank governor, the director of the radio and television.... Therefore, all known remarks from the eastern part of the RSK remain.

Babic has strengthened his position only seemingly as, apart from parliamentary majority, he also has his government. However, he expressed confidence in all his former ministers, which were mostly criticized in the RSK. At the same time, he dropped the best experts from the previous government, who were also not tainted by party affiliation.

Following the obvious division of forces benefiting Babic, it seems that Martic, although he pushed his three radicals into the government, is not strengthened. On the contrary, it seems that he will have to overthrow this government just as he did the previous one. In fact, his position has been insecure in the wake of the state commission's findings on the fall of western Slavonia and the news from The Hague.

One of the greatest problems the new government will have to face will be to establish correct relations with Belgrade. It seems that this will be difficult. Mrs. Maja Gojkovic, one of the top officials of the Serbian Radical Party, told DUGA the other day that the Radicals have a great influence on the composing of this government, and Babic failed to deny that. Is Knin in fact sticking to the concept that has been pushing it farther away from the official Yugoslav policy?

In approximately 10 days, the RSK might face a big turnabout, a new round of negotiations in Geneva with Croatian representatives. In what was possibly a bout of truthfulness speaking to his deputies club half a year ago, Babic praised the then prime minister for the way he was heading the government. After that, Babic will have to try to swim on without requiring to know who pushed him into the water.

Martic Demands UN Act on 'Crimes' in Slavonia

AU0108134095 Petrinja Srpski Radio Krajina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 31 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] RSK [Republic of Serb Krajina] President Milan Martic sent a letter to the chairman of the UN Security Council [UNSC] today demanding that the information about the massacre of Serb civilians committed by the Croatian Army in Western Slavonia gathered by UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] Police be revealed and that the Security Council decide what do about those crimes.

The letter recalls that, during the Croatian aggression and occupation of the part of the RSK between 1 May and 31 May, crimes were committed on the UN-protected territory of Western Slavonia and that the information gathered by UNPROFOR Police, which carried out an investigation right there and then, proves that. The letter warns that those who cover up those crimes actually protect war criminals in Croatia, encouraging them to commit new crimes against the population of the RSK.

Furthermore, the RSK president lists official information supplied by the UNPROFOR Police. On 2 May, this year, between Pakrac and Okucani, on the road near the village of Benkovac, Croatian soldiers stopped vehicles transporting civilians, killed children, women, and old people, and took the rest in an unknown direction. Overnight, between 1 and 2 May, Croatian soldiers entered the Serb village of Medare and took some inhabitants in an unknown direction.

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UNPROFOR Police report hundreds of identified and thousands of unidentified Serb civilian casualties. The report was drawn up so meticulously and professionally that it provides sufficient evidence to indict perpetrators and those who ordered the crimes in Western Slavonia, President Martic warns.

The people of the RSK are appalled at the passive stand of the Security Council regarding the crimes committed by the Army of the Republic of Croatia. Those who survived the horror, family members, and their relatives are waiting to hear the words of condemnation and hope to see the war criminals tried by the international court of justice.

In conclusion, the letter warns that Croatian crimes are so widespread that all those who cover them up will be their accomplices and it demands, in the name of hundreds of casualties, that those documents be officially taken to the seat of the United Nation, which has not been done so far.

RSK Defense Council on Grahovo, Bihac Fighting

AU0108135995 Petrinja Srpski Radio Krajina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 31 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Units of the RSK [Republic of Serb Krajina] Army managed to ward off a breakthrough attempt by the Croatian Army and the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] from the direction of occupied Grahovo toward the RSK, and all our defense positions are stable, says today's statement at the session of the Supreme Defense Council chaired by President Milan Martic in Knin.

The session focused on the current military and political situation in the RSK. It concluded that the new aggression of the Croatian Army and the HVO against parts of the RSK complicated the situation even more, especially in the Grahovo area, from which the enemy is targeting the territory of the RSK in the Podinarje region, the statement issued by the Supreme Defense Council says.

Furthermore, the statement of the Supreme Defense Council states that the forces of the RSK Army successfully repulsed attacks of the 5th Corps of the so-called Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, which instigated several incursions in the past period on the territory of the RSK in the area of Komesarac, Suva Medja, and Pljesevica, committing crimes against the civilians of the RSK.

The aggressor sustained considerable losses in this action, and our forces stopped fighting after having successfully completed the action. The Supreme Defense Council decided that the units of the RSK Army should retain the present level of combat readiness on the part of the territory bordering with Western Bosnia held by the 5th Corps of the so-called Bosnia-Herzegovina Army to prevent new 5th Corps attacks on the territory and the population of the RSK, the statement ends.

RSK Government Discusses Budget, Army Funding

AU0208102395 Petrinja Srpski Radio Krajina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 1 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Having viewed a report on the military and security situation in our republic presented by Defense Minister Lieutenant Milan Suput and Interior Minister Toso Pajic, the RSK [Republic of Serb Krajina] Government, which is in constant session, was informed that the RSK delegation would go to Geneva on 3 August for negotiations. The delegation is comprised of RSK Foreign Minister Milivoj Vojnovic, Ilija Prijic, and Lazar Macura.

At today's session, government members were informed about the budget, after which a decision to provide adequate funds for the RSK Army was made.

At the proposal of Vukasin Ekic, Ministry of Power Industry, Miomir Crnogorac, former manager of the Krajina Oil Industry [NIK], was relieved of his duty. Gojko Kovacevic of Mirkovci was appointed as the new manager of the firm.

The government enacted a regulation on exchanging wheat for diesel fuel at a 1:7 ratio. The wheat that is to be exchanged for diesel fuel will be delivered to authorized firms appointed by the state directorate for commodity reserves. NIK will deliver diesel fuel on the basis of a receipt for the quantity of delivered wheat. [passage omitted]

Krajina Serbs Reform Administrative Areas

AU0108182695 Petrinja Srpski Radio Krajina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1030 GMT 1 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Resuming its continuing session, the Republic of Serb Krajina government viewed the preparation and the passing of laws regulating the activities of the government and the functioning of ministries during a state of war. According to a statement issued last night after the session, a decree has been issued regulating the activities of ministries and special organizations outside their seats. The decree regulates the activities of the government administration, ministers without portfolio, and coordinating committees in regional centers.

Six centers of government administration were formed: the center for northern Dalmatia with its seat in Knin for the municipalities of Knin, Benkovac, Obrovac, and Drnis; the center for Lika with its seat in Korenica for the municipalities of Korenica, Vrhovine, Gracac,

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Donji Lapac, and Plaski; the center for Kordun with its seat in Vrginmost for the municipalities of Vrginmost, Vojnic, Slunj, and Krnjak; the center for Banija with its seat in Glina for the municipalities of Glina, Petrinja, Kostajnica, Dvor, and Caprag; the center for eastern Slavonia and western Srem with its seat in Vukovar for the municipalities of Vukovar, Mirkovci, Tenje, and Dalj; and the center for Baranja with its seat in Beli Manastir.

According to the government's decision, coordinating ministers' jurisdiction for certain areas, administrative supervision, supervision of government administration functions, and supervision of firms, institutions, and other organizations. [sentence as heard] The government of the Republic of Serb Krajina remains in constant session.

Petrinja War Presidency Focuses on Defense

AU0108185295 Petrinja Srpski Radio Krajina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1030 GMT 1 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Participants of yesterday's session of the Petrinja municipality war presidency were informed about a recently held constituent meeting of the coordinating body for Banija that was formed to provide a more efficient defense for this part of the territory. Obligations of the wartime presidency and all civilian structures in the town focusing on the same tasks were also specified.

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Greek Press Minister Discusses Relations, Embargo

AU0208071595 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 1 Aug 95 p 2

[Interview with Evangelos Venizelos, Greek minister of press and mass media and government spokesman, by Zoran Andonovski; place and date not given: "Normalization of Relations Even Without Recognition of Name"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Andonovski] Does Europe treat Greece the way it does because of its attitude toward Turkey and Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM]?

[Venizelos] Of course. There are two more questions that you mentioned—relations with Turkey. You know that Greece made a very large step and a big turn in its policy in order to show its EU partners that it is not the obstacle that is impeding relations between Turkey and the EU, or with the West, in general. We did not use the veto so that progress could be made in the customs union between Turkey and the EU. We lifted the veto in order to show that the problem of respecting the human rights and principles of European civilization is not in the hands of Greece or that it is not a Greek-Turkish problem, rather a European or a European-Turkish problem. This is exactly why we are now waiting for the views of the European Parliament, as well as the other competent EU bodies where the governments of the member countries are not represented—but the nations of the EU and, therefore, the governments do not have any particular influence there. This means that it is not Greece on which the promotion of Turkey's relations with the EU depends but on Turkey itself.

Here lies our common problem. We are still facing a well-known problem that contains a basic contradiction, because Greece is the best friend of your state in the region and it is interested in friendly relations, development, prosperity, stability, and in the existence of the republic itself. However, it is true that there are problems that you are aware of: The problem with the name, the Constitution, and the national symbols. There is also the problem that we might call state hostile propaganda, which represents a long-range threat to stability in the region, and I think this is in the common interest of all nations and states. Dissatisfaction has been expressed in some EU circles and, as you know, the European Commission began proceedings to take Greece to the European Court because of the economic measures that we introduced on 16 February 1994. It is also known that the first decision was adopted, which represented a defeat for the European Commission, and the views of the attorney general were presented, which were in favor of the Greek positions. Nevertheless, this is not our problem. We do not consider the problem between Skopje and Greece as a legal or judicial problem that can be solved by the EU. We participate in the negotiations under the auspices of the United Nations, which are headed by Cyrus Vance, and we have seriously taken into account all the other factors that help Vance—for instance, the United States through Matthew Nemitz—but you are aware of the Greek positions and we want to believe that President Gligorov and your government will not only find it possible to make an act of historical and international political responsibility with maturity and seriousness, but also with an interest for the Balkans, and that they will renounce the consistency that they have demonstrated, for which I think that has been also noted by factors of the international community engaged in this problem.

[Andonovski] Greek Prime Minister Papandreou recently stated that we disagree on only 10 percent and that the differences are only over this percentage. What does this mean? Are we negotiating? Have we already agreed on the remaining 90 percent? How is this possible, knowing that the negotiations have been interrupted for two years? Is there a secret dialogue going on?

[Venizelos] The mediating efforts of Mr. Vance are under way, as he is cooperating with the Greek Government and the government of Mr. Gligorov, and the discussions are exactly in this direction. You know that we are willing to abolish the economic blockade measures as soon as we see concrete moves by the Skopje Government, by Mr. Gligorov's government, regarding the questions of the Constitution and the symbols, certainly without recognizing the name, in order to be able to reach a normalization of relations. These relations will be of mutual benefit, because on the economic, the business, and the social plan, the two countries and two communities can really profit. That is to say, Greece will become an impetus for the development of your country.

[Andonovski] Our leadership wants Greece to lift the embargo before direct negotiations begin.

[Venizelos] This is the point on which we disagree.

[Andonovski] Greek Prime Minister Papandreou recently repeated that he cannot lift the embargo if there are no concrete moves by the other side—that is, a correction in the Constitution and changing the symbol on the flag. Please tell me, for instance, if we change the flag and correct the Constitution, what are we going to negotiate on?

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[Venizelos] Excuse me, but if there are corrections in the Constitution and on the flag, then we shall lift the economic embargo and, of course, there will remain the question of the name.... In this way we would secure possibilities for normal communications and relations... without recognizing the name Macedonia, and therefore....

[Andonovski] It means that we would negotiate no more. We would practically have no reason to negotiate.

[Venizelos] Yes. However, do you want me to tell you the common reason for negotiations? It is the common historic and political interest for stability in the region. This is exactly why we insist not only on the need for the existence but also for the prosperity and development of your country.

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Defense Minister Meets U.S. Air Force Official

WS0208120595 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA in Polish 2 Aug 95 p 2

[Report by "A.G.": "Will We Have Red-and-White Checkered F-16s and When?; From Concepts to Action"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "A team of U.S. experts should arrive within 30 days to help you develop a project of adapting F-16 fighters to the needs of Polish military aviation," said U.S. Air Force Secretary Sheila E. Windall, who came to Poland for a three-day visit, after a meeting with Defense Minister Zbigniew W. Okonski and Air Force Commander and Air Defense Major General Jerzy Gotowala.

Planes were not the only topic of discussions. Other issues included the "Partnership for Peace" program and training for Polish officers in the United States. Currently 30 are in training, and more than 100 have completed their courses thus far. This, of course, involves high costs.

"The Americans will give us aid in excess of $2 million within the frameworks of three cooperation projects," revealed Minister Okonski. "We appreciate the support, particularly its financial and technological aspects. One may even say that a breakthrough has taken place in the attitude of the U.S. Administration toward military cooperation with Poland. Thus far there were only ideas, now—I hope—we will get down to facts," said Okonski.

Over the next 3 years, 220 MiG-21 planes used by our Air Forces are to be replaced with modern multi-mission craft. But not all 220 of them, naturally. Minister Okonski claims we will need approximately 100 modern planes. They do not necessarily have to be specifically F-16s of the D version (because that is the model we are considering). The Americans have tough competition. We have received offers for aircraft of similar standards from France, Sweden, and Russia. The decision on the specific type of planes will be a political one and is very unlikely to be made this year. It will have an impact on the further development of Polish aviation and cannot be made in haste. The decision on purchasing the 100 aircraft will be made at the 'highest level' in consideration of our future membership in NATO," [beginning of quotation not marked] said the defense minister.

"I am unable to say when the first F-16 with red and white checks will land in one of your bases. We spoke only very generally today, let us wait for the experts," said Sheila E. Windall, curbing the reporters' enthusiasm.

"Even if we do receive the planes themselves for free, we will still have to put some money into them," reminded Minister Okonski. "Engines, avionics, and armaments will have to be modernized. We can thus say that we might get the F-16s 'half-free.' We are not interested in receiving all 100 planes at once. It could be one squadron or regiment for a start. Human resources are most important. We have to train people in servicing and piloting the planes. This is the best investment. Talks are under way on the role the Polish aviation industry could play in modernizing the U.S. planes. If we conclude that this is the type of equipment we want to have for the long term, we might take up the issue of producing some spare parts and elements," said Minister Zbigniew W. Okonski.

On Tuesday afternoon the U.S. Air Force Secretary visited the First Fighter Aviation Regiment "Warszawa" stationed in an airfield near Minsk Mazowiecki. She saw the training facilities, the remembrance hall, and aircraft used by the regiment (commanded by Major Pilot Slawomir Dygnatowski)—MiG-29, MiG-21, and TS-II "Iskra" planes.

[Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish on 2 August carries a front-page report by Pawel Wronski and "BW" under the title "F-16 Over Poland" which concludes: "The SU-27—acclaimed as the best fighter plane in recent years following shows in Berlin and Paris—is produced in Russia which is very keen to sell us its fighters. Sergey Yushenkov, head of the Defense Commission of the Russian Duma, told a group of Polish reporters recently that 'breaking off Polish-Russian cooperation, including military, is idiotic, and if Poland does decide to purchase the F-16s, it will be a further blow to the Russian military industry.'"]

Walesa's Initiative on Constitution Criticized

WS0108132295 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 26 Jul 95 pp 1,3

[Interview with expert on the Polish National Assembly Constitutional Commission Professor Kazimierz Dzialocha by Aleksander Frydrychowicz; place and date not given: "The President's Illicit Practices"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Frydrychowicz] Deputy Jerzy Gwizdz has announced that the Coordinating Political Council of the Patriotic Camp [KRPOP] is proceeding with the preparation of a draft constitution outside the National Assembly. How does this stand in relation to legal principles?

[Dzialocha] This is against the principles in force, starting with the announcement of the presidential

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spokesman stating that the president is considering withdrawing the draft constitution submitted to the commission. The president is not allowed to do this. According to the National Assembly's internal statute, an officially submitted draft constitution can be withdrawn only before the first reading. And this is already behind us since last September. The president also is not allowed to withdraw his representatives from the commission. It is the representatives' obligation to take part in the works of the Constitutional Commission. This is layed out in the act about the procedures for preparing and resolving the constitution. This is not a privilege but an obligation.

[Frydrychowicz] Can the commission accept another draft submitted by the KRPOP?

[Dzialocha] The deadline for submitting drafts has passed. At this stage, the Constitutional Commission of the National Assembly is working on a uniform text of the Constitution. This text includes all propositions submitted in all drafts. Only this text can be the subject of a national referendum. The KRPOP defines its project as an alternative one. But what is the alternative: the document resolved by the National Assembly? These actions do not only go beyond the constitution, but in fact are anti-constitutional. I do not know of a country in the world where a referendum would serve to choose between two texts of a constitution. Some claim that the parliament will amend the existing act about the procedures on preparing and resolving the Constitution and everything will be correct. After all, this is a constitutional act and to amend it you need two-thirds of the parliamentary votes. And the parliament majority do not want this amendment.

[Frydrychowicz] In order for new deadlines to be set out for the works of the commission, the parliament would have to be dissolved before resolving the Constitution?

[Dzialocha] This issue is often raised by the opposition. They claim that if the results of the presidential election are not favorable for them, then they will provoke new parliamentary elections and the procedure for developing a new constitution will restart again. This will create time allowing for the submission of new drafts. This would be the fourth approach to a new constitution since 1989.

[Frydrychowicz] If the president takes part in the preparation of a competitive constitution, what will this mean in practice?

[Dzialocha] In my opinion, this is not only a political demonstration. The extra-parliamentary opposition can do what ever they want in politics, including announcing that they are starting work on a competitive draft constitution. But the president is part of today's existing constitutional law. He has a defined function to fulfil in the work on the new constitution. He has the right to submit his own draft; it is his obligation to participate in the works of the commission and nothing else. He is not allowed, however, to participate in activities which in fact are contrary to today's existing constitutional law. This is an attempt to break off work on the Constitution, perhaps with a political calculation in mind. Practically, this means readiness to discredit the political elites and to show that they are unable to come up with a constitution. In my opinion, it is illicit for the president to participate in political moves that are directed against today's existing Constitution.

[Frydrychowicz] Thank you for the interview.

Finance Minister Interviewed on Policies

WS0108145095 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 29-30 Jul 95 p 7

[Interview with Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance Grzegorz Kolodko by Stanislaw Cwik; place and date not given: "We Owe a Lot to the Opposition"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Cwik] Mister Deputy Prime Minister, do you not look to the future too often?

[Kolodko] Is there anything wrong with that?

[Cwik] I mean to say that you like to project various economic results which do not always come true.

[Kolodko] We have to inform on what we think future economic and finance processes will be. Of course, I could choose not to say a word, but then others would do it for me. And they would barter more often than not. [as published]

When inflation for May fell 0.13 percent below the figure we had projected, one of the papers wrote that the finance minister erred again. Therefore, it was better than one month previously, better than what we had projected, but the people had to be told it was worse. This sets public opinion against this minister, this government, this coalition, and this program. I am the last person to claim that everybody is already better off, that everything has improved.

At the last session of the Council for Social and Economic Strategies, Professor Fedorowicz stated it would be best if we did not announce any inflation rate projections at all. This is fine on a monthly scale because there is no such statutory or constitutional requirement. On an annual scale, however, this is impossible. As long as we have inflation, there have to be indexes which will serve as a foundation for the basic state fiscal plan, namely the budget.

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[Cwik] Exactly. Would it thus not be more advisable to leave monthly projections to independent professional institutions?

[Kolodko] Where are they? The International Finance Corporation in Washington could provide us with expert projections independent of influence exerted by political parties. This cannot be said of many domestic institutions, which resemble party extensions all too often. Please note that an overwhelming majority of their projections are defeatist, several percentage points below international projections.

I sometimes get the impression that these projections are intended as self-fulfilling prophecies, excessively raising hopes as to inflation, in agreement with the principle of "the worse things are the better," which unfortunately continues to be a guideline for the opposition. People in Poland have learned to think in terms of the economy; therefore, they can often make their own judgments.

[Cwik] You have brought charges against the opposition parties. Yet it might seem that since Leszek Balcerowicz came to head the Freedom Union [UW] more favorable conditions should arise for a substantial professional discussion between the government and the opposition.

[Kolodko] I hoped so. It turns out, however, that statements issued by the UW chairman are full of political rhetoric unparalleled in the professional world. Perhaps this is what has to happen if one ceases to be an unaligned expert. This may also have to do with the UW's internal problems and—as polls show—the declining support of its constituency. I also understand the "historical" embitterment. During the UW government in 1990-1991, the national product fell by 18 percent, and industrial production by as much as 40 percent. During 1994-1995, on the other hand, the national product has been growing by 12 percent and industrial output by 25 percent. Back then unemployment grew at breakneck speed, whereas we have created more than a quarter of a million of new jobs.

[Cwik] The opposition claims, however, that the current economical achievements are its success, a belated effect of the reforms it introduced.

[Kolodko] I know it says so and will continue to say so in 1996-1997. Yet this cannot be taken seriously, just look at the figures. I do not wish to undermine the contribution made by the opposition in the process of economic reforms. Yet it failed to draw a lesson from its mistakes. It did not see, for instance, that the costs of reforms must be shared more evenly. We have learned a lot from these mistakes, and in this sense we owe the opposition a lot.

[Cwik] Does that imply that agreement on economic issues is impossible?

[Kolodko] I have always appealed for such an agreement and shall continue to do so. We should agree that the economy will not be an element of the political battle before the presidential campaign, that no preposterous figures, accusations, or projections will circulate. If anybody does have to use economic arguments for support, they should rely on the findings of independent international institutions and not quote party estimates.

It also seems to me that an economic "round table" is possible where experts from all sides could discuss the economic future of the country. We have our "Strategy for Poland," we have noticeable achievements and experience, but we are open for discussion and corrections. It is enough to put ideology and prejudice aside and sit down for a professional debate. Charges of ill will and evil intentions would probably disappear.

[Cwik] Who could initiate these "roundtable" talks?

[Kolodko] Anyone. It could be TRYBUNA, for instance. It would be good if the initiative originated in the heads of the presidential candidates. The cause is truly respectable and worth the effort.

[Cwik] One may get the impression from time to time that the government sessions have already become a form of "round table" talks. There are so many conflicts and contradictory interests, for instance the issue of social security or agriculture.

[Kolodko] I am happy these conflicts are recognized as pertaining to issues, interests, and not personal conflicts. There are no personal conflicts in our cabinet, although it is made up of strong individualists. The interests of huge social groups underlie each conflict. We have to bear in mind that the transformation of the system is accompanied by a redistribution of both assets and incomes. This causes emotions to run high and conflicts are natural.

As far as agriculture is concerned, I wish to point out that I presented a project for a multi-faceted development of rural areas in "Strategy for Poland." I stress that this is the right path, and not direct aid to agriculture consisting of buttressing its outlived structure. As much as 37 percent of Poles currently inhabit rural areas, 27 percent of whom are employed in the farming sector. These people, however, account for a mere 7-8 percent of the national product. This has to change, otherwise we will not be able to survive the competition.

We are incapable of moving so many people from the rural areas to cities. There is a housing shortage

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and there is no infrastructure—it would lead to the emergence of huge slums in city suburbs. Besides, we already have 2.5 unemployed [as published] in the cities. The only chance is thus developing the rural areas, putting an infrastructure in place, and creating new jobs locally. This is the only strategic program I can support.

[Cwik] What about the conflict pertaining to the social security reform?

[Kolodko] It is not a conflict, but a huge dilemma. Some people think this is just about two ministers quarreling with each other. In reality, this is a tremendous problem because it just so happens that one in four Poles is either a farmer or a pensioner. To make a long story short, I think the principles of indexing pensions should be adjusted to the financial condition of the state, and not the other way around. Any other social security system will cause public finances to collapse. We may soon run out of funding for the health care system, education, or national defense. I do not think some should be helped at the cost of others. This is not a reform yet.

The system has to be modified thoroughly enough for it to become a truly secure one, so that its beneficiaries could feel safe and be guaranteed with means giving a sense of social security. We have to find the resources to do that, but not at the expense of the taxpayer. The system is to become self-financing, thus social security funds have to be established where deposits will be capitalized and invested. After all, we are going toward a market economy.

Friction is due to the fact that we think of different time frames in the cabinet. Some think in terms of what will happen in one, two, or five years, whereas I am also interested in what will happen in tens of dozens of years. I have recently simulated the budget deficit and public debt up to the year 2010 on my computer. It is not that far away considering I have daughters aged 10 and 13.

[Cwik] The projections cannot be all that bad if the U.S. Department of Commerce included us on the list of the 10 most rapidly developing markets?

[Kolodko] This is our country's success, a result of the sacrifices and efforts made by our entire society. I think that listing us among the "top ten" will bring us huge benefits. It will open up new markets and enhance investments. I have the immodest hope that our government also contributed to that success.

[Cwik] Thank you for the interview.

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Melescanu on Slovak Relations, Hungarian Treaty

AU0108202495 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 29 Jul 95 pp 1, 11

[Interview with Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu by Jan Skoda in Bucharest on 27 July: "It Is Unnecessary To Draw Parallels"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Slovak and Romanian Government delegations held two days of talks in Bucharest on issues pertaining to cooperation in the economic and foreign political spheres. Following the 27 July meeting with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar, Romanian Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu granted us this interview.

[Skoda] In your opinion, what were the most important topics of your conversation with Prime Minister Meciar?

[Melescanu] As I had previously had an opportunity to speak to my Slovak counterpart Juraj Schenk at the meeting with Prime Minister Meciar, we concentrated on regional cooperation issues and the Slovak initiative to expand the free trade zone in Central Europe. I briefed Mr. Meciar on the Romanian initiatives for regional cooperation among the countries in the Black Sea area. We discussed relations with our third partner Hungary, including joint coordination and the affinity between the ratification of the Slovak-Hungarian treaty and the finalization of the agreement between Romania and Hungary. We also discussed NATO enlargement and collective security in Central Europe.

[Skoda] Could you give us a brief explanation of the main reasons why the Romanian-Hungarian treaty has not yet been signed?

[Melescanu] The biggest problem is associated with the Romanian delegation's demand that each reference to the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly Recommendation No. 1201 be embodied in the same interpretation by the two sides, which would involve the curtailment of this recommendation. So far, we have not reached an agreement with our Hungarian colleagues on the precise formulation of the joint conclusions for this interpretation. I think that we have made great progress in our dialogue, in which it is necessary to arrive at joint declarations.

[Skoda] Some Romanian politicians were angry with the Slovaks when they signed the basic treaty with Hungary, a treaty that also embraced Council of Europe Recommendation No. 1201. I would like to ask you whether, after several meetings with your Slovak partners, you are now "less angry" with us or whether you understand better the reasons why we agreed to a compromise?

[Melescanu] The view to which you referred in the introduction to your question was held only by certain politicians in Romania. However, the Romanian Government and Foreign Ministry never adopted such a stance. We emphasized from the beginning that the treaty between Hungary and Slovakia exists per se and that the treaty between Romania and Hungary also has a unique construction. We think that there are certain similarities between the two treaties, if for no other reason that we negotiated on them with the same partner. Therefore, it is also important that we brief each other on this. We believe that this process of reciprocal notification will continue. We have never thought—and I do not think it even now—that it is necessary to lay down conditions or draw any parallels. I think that Slovakia and Hungary have achieved a balance in the interests that are expressed in the treaty between the two countries. Their decision to sign the treaty and their decision on its contents are associated with the specific national interests of Slovakia and Hungary. And, as far as Romania is concerned, we are also pursuing our own interests and our decision is not associated with the decision that the Slovak Government made.

[Skoda] A few days ago, you returned from an interesting meeting in Paris, where you were received jointly by the French and German foreign ministers. What conclusions did you draw from this meeting?

[Melescanu] The main conclusion is very strong support from France and Germany for Romania's integration into European structures. I am satisfied with the responses that I got. Romania has won very clear support.

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Federal

Poll: Citizens Oppose Involvement in Bosnia War

LD0108220195 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1732 GMT 1 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade, 1 Aug (SRNA-BETA)—According to an opinion poll carried out among 1,000 citizens and published by the PARTNER Agency, most of Serbia's citizens oppose the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia's involvement in the war in Bosnia, even in the event of "serious intervention by NATO."

Yugoslavia's military interference in the war in Bosnia is opposed by 37.1 percent of those who took part in the poll. Miroslav Sutic, the agency's director, says that the opinion poll was carried out on the territory of Serbia, excluding Kosovo.

He told a news conference, as reported by BETA agency, that in the case of any NATO intervention, 24.4 percent maintain that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia should get involved in the war; 23.7 percent cannot make up their mind; 14.8 percent have no opinion.

The PARTNER Agency carried out its telephone opinion poll on the most important political events and the current rating of political parties between 25 and 28 July. [passage omitted]

Kontic: Gross National Income Rose 5 Percent

AU2807164295 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 28 Jul 95

[Report by Vesna Tenjovic from Subotica]

[FBIS Translated Text] At the invitation of the leadership of the north Backa region, Federal Prime Minister Radoje Kontic and his aides visited the region. Vesna Tenjovic reports from Subotica:

[Tenjovic] Speaking about economic results in the first six months, Federal Prime Minister Radoje Kontic stressed that there are positive trends in production, above all in agriculture, the construction industry, and tourism. He also said the planned results cannot obviously be realized without additional measures. According to the estimates, the realized gross domestic product in the first half of the year is 5 percent higher than the last year's average. Trade with other countries has also increased, but mainly because of the increase in imports, Prime Minister Kontic said, adding:

[Begin recording] [words indistinct] in the sector of public expenditure show positive trends. For instance, the share of the total realizable public revenue in the first six months of this year in the estimated gross domestic product, which I spoke about a few minutes ago, is about 48 percent, which is less than the planned share in the consolidated balance of public expenditure at the national level. At the beginning of this year, we planned that this share be 49.5 percent.

However, I must says straight away that we must not fool ourselves that the fiscal burden of the economy is not [words indistinct]. We must search for ways to reduce the fiscal burden of the economy, which you probably feel yourself on a daily basis.

Real wages also show a tendency of falling. We have estimated that real wages in July this year, in comparison with December of last year, are lower by about 15 percent, although, nominally, they are showing a certain and even continuous rise. The cost of living has, however, been growing faster. However, one can clearly see a continuous rise of other earnings of the population, earnings that do not constitute part of (?personal incomes). The volume of these earnings is already exceeding a half of the total of salaries paid in the first six months of this year.

The average pensions paid in the first six months make up only 63 percent of the average net earnings of those in employment. When this is compared, this in fact means that the real drop in pensions has been significantly faster than that of real wages in relation to December. This (?tendency) must be stopped and, in this way, stop any further fall in the pensioners' standard of living.

One can in fact conclude that, in a certain sense, this has already been done with the adoption of the latest bills in the Assembly of the Republic of Serbia, which actually ended its work a few days ago. [end recording]

Considering that Prime Minister Kontic is still speaking in the town hall in Subotica, we will inform you about it in our subsequent programs. The prime minister is expected to present new economic measures of the federal government.

This morning, Prime Minister Kontic spoke to Subotica officials. The town representatives asked for help to complete the construction of the highway to the Hungarian border and to set up a tax free zone, with centers in Subotica and Senta. In connection with this, Prime Minister Kontic said that the Novi-Sad-Budapest highway is one of the priorities, but that the government currently had no funds.

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Government Economic Council Examines Policies

LD0108170295 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1646 GMT 1 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, August 1 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Government Economic Council said Tuesday [1 August] that the applied monetary and fiscal measures had helped created better macroeconomic proportions and prevented inflation upsurge.

It said that economic restructuring should begin in the next stage of economic programme.

The Council discussed economic policy in the first six-month period this year and some draft measures for the coming period.

The session was attended by Yugoslav Prime Minister Radoje Kontic and Deputy Prime Minister Jovan Zebic, the Federal Information Secretariat said in a statement.

The participants tackled the problem of stagnation in payments, which is greatly burdening the economic system.

All segments of economy must comply with the principle of limited budget, the participants in the session said, stressing that the starting point should be restoration of financial discipline in firms.

The Council made some proposals on economic and legal instruments to be used in providing full solvency of firms and banks.

Aiming to stabilize the financial market, it proposed positive interest rates that would stimulate savings and be tolerable to the economic system.

The Council also agreed that the National Bank should have a real discount rate and full control over foreign currency transactions.

Serbia

Milosevic Sends Letters to Izetbegovic, Mladic

LD0108200195 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1816 GMT 1 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 1 Aug (TANJUG)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic today sent letters to Muslim President Alija Izetbegovic and Colonel General Ratko Mladic, commander of the Serb Republic Army. The letter which President Milosevic sent to Alija Izetbegovic says:

"Mr Izetbegovic,

"Several hundred of your soldiers today fled to the territory of Serbia seeking shelter from war suffering. This development has prompted me to send you this letter.

"Your soldiers have not been received here as enemies, but as human beings, as neighbors who were pushed by the force of circumstances into the whirlwind of the war tragedy against their own wishes.

"You know all too well that we in Yugoslavia have offered hospitality to hundreds of thousands of refugees including tens of thousands of your compatriots; all of them enjoy the same treatment and are a matter of our concern.

"I am completely convinced that a huge majority of Muslims in Bosnia, the same as those who sought shelter in our country, is craving for peace; I too know for certain that a huge majority of Serbs in these areas also wish peace.

"Several weeks ago we watched tens of thousands of Muslim refugees, mostly old people, women, and children, fleeing Srebrenica and Zepa and seeking shelter in Tuzla and central Bosnia; several days ago Serb refugees, also women, children, and the elderly from Glamoc and [Bosansko] Grahovo sought shelter in Drvar and Banja Luka.

"Everybody ought to ask themselves how many more times the same pictures will be repeated, how long the suffering of the people in the Bosnia-Herzegovina areas is going to last, until enough courage is mustered to end the war. More courage and strength is needed for a decision to conclude peace than to begin a war.

"I am appealing to you to adopt a decision in the interest of your own people and all the nations and people who live in the area of former Yugoslavia, just the same as I am appealing to General Ratko Mladic and the Serb Republic leadership, to end the war and immediately conclude an agreement on the cessation of hostilities with representatives of your army.

"Peace is inevitable. It is better to secure it sooner, before huge numbers of people die on both sides and experience war-inflicted suffering, rather than later, once the peoples of Bosnia-Herzegovina have mutually exterminated themselves.

"A cessation of hostilities may present an opportunity to reinstate the peace process on the stage and, perhaps, to finally put an end to the war.

"Since the beginning of the Bosnia-Herzegovina crisis, I have maintained that there is only one formula: a solution which will protect to the same degree the interests of all three peoples, Muslims, Serbs, and Croats.

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"I firmly believe that such a solution is feasible and just and that it can be reached on the basis of the peace plan tabled by the international community. I am willing to do my best to have this solution materialized as soon as possible through joint efforts.

"This is why I ask you to bring about a cease-fire and enable all those who want peace to pool their forces, so they can achieve it by political means."

The letter to Gen. Mladic says:

"Mr General,

"I address you and the General Staff of the Army of the Serb Republic, as well as the leadership of the Serb Republic, at a time when the entire absurdity of the civil war in the area of former Bosnia-Herzegovina is becoming obvious and when, in the space of few weeks alone, the war has scored a large number of casualties, while tens of thousands of refugees from both sides are being scattered by the gale of war as the risk looms of an unprecedented escalation of conflicts and enormous human and material losses for all those who live in these lands.

"Today, several hundred soldiers of the Muslim army fled to the territory of Serbia to find relief from the suffering of war. They bear out our firm belief that the vast majority of Muslims in Bosnia want peace, and so do the vast majority of Serbs. This is the time to act in line with the will and interests of the citizens in the Bosnia-Herzegovina area who regardless of their national affinity have the same interest, to live in peace.

"This is the time to take the decisive step in the direction of curbing the war and reverse the inertia of developments in the direction of peace.

"As you know, it is my firm belief that a stable peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina cannot be brought about by military means, but only by a political solution which will facilitate the equal affirmation of the interests of all three peoples, Muslims, Serbs, and Croats.

"I firmly believe that such a solution is feasible on the basis of the peace plan tabled by the international community as I will do everything to contribute to securing peace on this basis. This is why I ask you, just as I ask the same thing in my letter to Alija Izetbegovic, at this time of great suffering of civilians on both sides, to summon up the strength and the courage to sign a cessation of hostilities with the Muslim army, so as to create conditions and space for all those who want peace, so they can contribute to the reversal of the crisis from the battlefield to the negotiating process, thus reaching a lasting peace."

Muslim Soldiers From Bosnia Shelter in Serbia

LD0108185695 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1732 GMT 1 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade, 1 Aug (TANJUG)—Several hundred Muslims from eastern Bosnia, who left the Muslim army of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina to avoid war suffering, fled to Serbia yesterday and today, the Serbian Ministry of Information has announced.

Bodies of the Republic of Serbia welcomed them on the territory of Bajina Basta and provided them with the necessary accommodation, medical, and other treatment, in line with the laws of Serbia and norms of the international law. [passage omitted]

Commissioner Visits Soldiers

LD0108222095 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2208 GMT 1 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Aug. 1 (TANJUG)—Serbian Commissioner for Refugees Bratislava Morina on Tuesday visited several hundred Muslim soldiers from eastern Bosnia who fled to the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in the past two days after refusing to continue their service on units loyal to the central authorities in Sarajevo.

The Serbian delegation which visited the Muslim soldiers-refugees in the town of Bajina Basta on the border with the Bosnian Serb Republic, included Serbian Health Minister Leposava Milicevic, Yugoslav Red Cross representatives, and a representative of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees.

"In the talks with us, the refugees said they had fled from a senseless war, hiding in woods for days. They arrived in our territory completely exhausted," Morina told TANJUG upon her return to Belgrade.

Morina pointed out that Yugoslavia had shown, by accepting Izetbegovic's troops, that it is a democratic state and that it confirmed once more with this action its option for peace.

She said: "They fled from enemies among their own people and sought refuge in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which has been proclaimed by some for four years now as the side which fanned this war the most."

In talks with representatives of humanitarian organizations, the refugee Muslim army troops "expressed their gratitude to Serbia, the only place which they trusted enough to come to," Morina said.

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According to information received by the commissariat, former Izetbegovic's troops continue to arrive in Yugoslav territory, where they are accommodated according to valid international regulations on taking in refugees, Morina said.

Party Urges UN To Order Croatia's Withdrawal

LD0108174995 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1729 GMT 1 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Aug 1 (TANJUG)—One of the principal opposition parties in Serbia, Serbian Renewal Movement (SPO) Tuesday [1 August] appealed to the UN Security Council and NATO to immediately order Croatian Army to pull out from the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and to forgo plans for armed attack on the Republic of Serb Krajina.

SPO Leader Vuk Draskovic asked Bosnian Serb Republic and Republic of Serb Krajina leaderships to accept the peace plans of the international community, the contact group plan for the territorial division of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Z-4 plan regulating relations between Croatia and RSK.

Draskovic is convinced that such acceptance would be followed by a Security Council order to Croatia to forgo its plans for attacking Krajina and to withdraw from Bosnia.

The international community would then have to, even unwillingly, punish anyone violating its peace plans, Draskovic said at a press conference.

Draskovic also appealed to Bosnian and Krajina Serbs to forgo their attacks on Bihac (Muslim safe area in western Bosnia) and to transfer their forces from there to RSK to defend it and its administrative center of Knin.

Draskovic described the situation as more than dramatic, as Croatian Army could move on RSK at any time from all directions.

Croatian Army launched an aggression on the western part of the Bosnian Serb Republic and occupied Friday the towns of Grahovo and Glamoc, which had never been inhabited by Croats. Since then, Croatian forces have been opening artillery fire from occupied Grahovo on Serb civilian targets near Knin in RSK.

Draskovic noted that Croatian President Franjo Tudjman and Bosnian Serb Republic President Radovan Karadzic, each for his own reasons, were close to achieving the same aim, that of involving Serbia in the war before the anti-Yugoslav sanctions are lifted.

Percevic, UK MP's Urge Immediate Moratorium

LD0108165395 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1642 GMT 1 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, August 1 (TANJUG)—Vice president of the ruling Socialist Party of Serbia Goran Percevic and a visiting British parliamentary delegation agreed here Tuesday that an immediate and unconditional moratorium should be declared on all military activities in the former Yugoslav republics of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia.

The two sides agreed that the moratorium should precede a general agreement on ending hostilities.

The Croatian Army should urgently and unconditionally withdraw from the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, Percevic said in talks with Labour Party representative in the British Parliament's House of Commons Robert Wareing and Conservative Party MP in the House of Lords Lord Harlech.

In its latest aggression on the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia again showed its commitment to war and undermined the peace process, Percevic said, adding that the international community should take effective measures to definitively stop Croatia.

Croatian regular army troops last Friday occupied the Serb towns of Grahovo and Glamoc in the southwestern part of the Bosnian Serb republic and proceeded to shell civilian targets in the neighbouring republic of Serb Krajina.

Officer on Maintaining Air Defense Readiness

95BA0286F Belgrade VOJSKA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Mar 95 p 21

[Article by Dragutin Strahinjic, M.A.: "Get the Better of the Enemy"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The rocket artillery air defense unit commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Milutin Djurovic, like other similar units, is adapting to increasingly difficult living and working conditions. The shortage of materiel and financial resources is being made up by resourcefulness, by changing work methods, and by greater effort in training, but especially in the maintenance of sophisticated and powerful equipment. This is the only way to maintain the combat readiness of units.

"The development of present-day aviation, with high maneuvering capabilities, precision, and electronics, along with future improvements, requires careful examination and a search for effective ways of response," Col. Djurovic says.

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"This requires that the air defense specialist constantly study new possibilities for responding to attacks from the air, with elements of persistence, precision, and speedy defense. By improving our own weapons, by improving the ballistic characteristics of the missiles, and by developing new methods of defense, the air defense specialists are successfully keeping pace in this unending race."

They believe that all these changes in the aircraft of present-day armies need not be a sufficient guarantee that they will have full security in carrying out a war mission. The use of the air force in conflicts in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina has shown that aircraft of that type are no longer omnipotent. Well-trained soldiers can bring them down.

In a possible aggression against our country, Lt. Col. Djurovic said, the enemy will in an air attack use the most up-to-date aircraft, which are well armed and have electronic jamming devices. One of his main objectives will be our radar and air defense facilities. Given that situation, our units must be capable of offering maximum resistance to the attacker in order to discourage continuation of the aggression right at the outset. It is certain that our crews will be able to offer much more than the enemy expects. Our air defense specialists must be more skillful than their pilots.

Lieutenant Bojan Milivojevic said that our units can successfully oppose even a technically superior enemy because they are drilled in various tactical procedures, changes of fire positions, camouflage, and the creation of false positions. Officers also have war experience, and we have other advantages that a possible aggressor must keep in mind before he crosses our border.

Military Engineering School in Obrenovac Described

95BA0286E Belgrade VOJSKA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Mar 95 pp 14-15

[Article by Sladjana Ristic and Branko Kopunovic: "Building the Bridges of Tomorrow"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Engineers School Center is located in Obrenovac and resembles more a nicely kept park than a garrison, edged by slender firs and embellished with lawns on which peacocks spread their fans. A bit further on are the proving grounds and exercise grounds, and the flow of the Sava River provides them suitable conditions for daily practical instruction. Secondary and postsecondary students, future commissioned and noncommissioned officers, and their instructors are engaged on a common task: to enrich up-to-date instruction and varied professional material with solid knowledge and sound ambition. Good conditions for life and study, athletics, and cultural events are some of the advantages whose influence is felt in the results of their effort and in the center's entire atmosphere. This is quite logical and altogether deserved in view of the future obligation of the commissioned and noncommissioned officers in an important arm of the Army of Yugoslavia and all the troubles that have accompanied them since the civil war broke out on the soil of the former Yugoslavia.

To recall, under dramatic circumstances they withdrew from Karlovac, where they were disastrously surrounded, but thanks to their courage and own initiative, their superhuman efforts saved both their lives and valuable equipment, machinery, teaching aids.... Everything, leaving nothing behind!

Although it is only a year since the center finally found its place under the sun in the little town on the Sava, within reach of the capital, all its members finally feel that they are at home, in their own town, among their fellow citizens. This is a fact they do not skirt, because they perceive it as the beginning of a bridge that they began to build as soon as they arrived in Obrenovac and that they intend to stretch into the future, toward some common good and better days.

They began life together by quickly getting to know one another, the way this is done by friends and brothers, kindred souls, and people of similar sentiment: the opstina leadership with the center's command, the pupils with the cadets, athletes with athletes.... Then they began to weave those fine threads, which are today strong and very constant between the center and public and private enterprises, organizations, in short, all the inhabitants of Obrenovac, nearby towns, and all the engineers.

Colonel Petar Simic, the center's deputy chief, spoke about those ties that have been permanently established in a relatively short time the other day in connection with celebration of Military School Day. This is not cooperation manifested only in joint celebration of holidays, but also in joint creativity and ideas. For example, some of the practical instruction has also been given on the grounds of the Nikola Tesla Thermal Electric Power Plant, and the engineer there is serving as a student's adviser on his senior thesis. As part of their practical instruction, students in the Obrenovac Agricultural Chemical School will do experiments on the grounds of the center: They will establish new plantations, they will take examinations in horticulture, and they will help to improve the appearance of the present green areas. These examples are multiplying; it is difficult to count them all. The schooling and advance training of reserve officers is an addition to the lengthy list. Perhaps the best illustration of the present

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and future bridges of friendship and cooperation should be sought in the words of Slobodan Jovicic, president of the Obrenovac Opstina Assembly, to the effect that the population is sleeping more peacefully since the center has been in their community. The Sava River can be capricious, can cause great damage, can nullify the painstaking work of the field croppers, and can attack the embankments and bridges. There are important industrial and energy installations in the vicinity that have immense property value and strategic importance, and trouble threatens when one least expects it. But people know that the engineers are knowledgeable and capable of a great deal; they have proven this countless times in onslaughts of all kinds of disasters....

The breath of early spring is felt. The trees at the center are just about to bloom. New shoots are expected. And the 48th class of the Military Academy, Engineer Section, and then the 40th class of the Secondary Military School and the second class of the Noncommissioned Officers School are about to complete their studies successfully. Under the new and better conditions, together with their officers and instructors, they are a step away from a joint achievement, a new force of the Army of Yugoslavia. These lads have something that is heartening and strengthens one's belief that good progress has been made in bringing along the new generations of commissioned and noncommissioned officers. The former came through the tribulations of the war in Croatia, while the latter have shown themselves to be stalwart in the painful encirclement in the hell of Sarajevo. As Col. Simic said, the horrors of war have not only failed to leave a negative trace on them, but have also given them maturity and inestimable experience. Thus, in these wartime days and years, during the lengthy marches and painful moves, a spirit of their togetherness and trust, strength and will, confidence that what one can do they can all do, has grown up! Nor is it any wonder that the small but select 48th class of future engineers will be known as one of the best in the last decade. Their attitude toward gaining knowledge, studying, and working, the polite behavior of the lads toward those around them, have come, we would say, from the awareness and experience that a new beginning depended upon an honorable end. What they saved, from lecture notes and books to heavy machines and computers, they perceived as something of their own, something valuable. They did not come to libraries already built up, dormitories all prepared, and laboratories with abundant equipment, but they themselves created and enriched them, mostly out of love. That will certainly continue to unite them....

Nighttime Training by Military Units Discussed

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[Article by Cedomir Popovic: "Out of the Ordinary Night Target Practice"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Soldiers in the September class of the motorized unit led by Lieutenant Colonel Grujica Grujicic completed a cycle of training during a stay of several days in Pasuljanske Livade, where they had their first target practice with live ammunition. The purpose of the exercise was to verify that the crew members were fit and well trained to carry out tactical and fire missions.

Thus, Major Radoslav Miletic's mechanized armored unit did target practice with live ammunition by crew and squad and tactical exercises that included target practice with live ammunition involving a tank platoon on defense, on the attack, and during a march with frontal combat. The overall grade for all these target practices was "very good." Lieutenant Aleksandar Milanovic's unit achieved the best results in the exercise of the "tank platoon on attack," and the best marksmen on the tank were Aleksandar Stajcic, Sasa Dragovic, and Zeljko Dinulovic.

The target practice included not only the armored units, but also the artillerymen. The artillery unit commanded by Maj. Boban Pancic conducted howitzer battery practice with live ammunition. Again, the grade was "very good." Second Lt. Srboljub Radojevic and howitzer gunners Bojan Dacin, Nenad Grozdanovic, and Zoran Stojanovic were more successful than the others.

In addition to daytime practice, this time they also did one impressive nighttime practice, which is not done so frequently. On a chilly night, 122-mm howitzer batteries operated with illumination simultaneously with a mortar unit. It was a complicated nighttime action of combined artillery groups. The participants earned their "excellent" grade, especially because this was specific gunnery practice, and Captain Sasa Milutinovic particularly distinguished himself in the nighttime work.

On the grounds where the exercises were held, we also encountered Lt. Col. Ratomir Jankovic, chief of artillery. He said: "We are seeing steady progress in training. This generation is trained better than were the previous ones, thanks to patient and persistent effort. Experience built up in previous years is allowing a somewhat more relaxed approach, and the challenge of training is surmounted more easily. The unit's command has devoted itself entirely to training and has gone deep into all its details."

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It is for this everyday and direct participation in training the soldiers that his superiors want to distinguish the self-sacrificing effort of Maj. Boban Pancic.

An infantry unit was defended by a platoon of recoilless cannon that was part of the motorized unit of Maj. Dragoljub Petrovic.

Lt. Col. Grujica Grujicic, commander, was satisfied with the results achieved and with the effort of his men, noncommissioned officers, and commissioned officers, and he favored appropriate recognition being given to those who had the best results.

Industrial Accident at Zemun Chemical Factory

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[Article by I. Jovanovic and S. Maric: "Fateful Disaster: 10 Workers Killed and as Many Injured, Some Seriously—The Cause of the Explosion Is Not Yet Known"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In the terrible explosion that occurred the day before yesterday in the Grmec plant in Zemun, 10 workers died, according to the still incomplete figures, and as many were injured, some seriously. The identities of eight of those killed have been determined. The injured are being treated in Belgrade hospitals, and doctors are fighting for the lives of several workers with the most serious injuries.

At yesterday's conference for journalists at Grmec, it was said that the damage caused by the explosion amounted to 7-10 million dinars. The causes of this accident are being determined.

During the course of the day yesterday, many telegrams of sympathy arrived at the collective, and financial assistance was promised to the families of workers killed and injured.

Although the final number of Grmec workers killed in the powerful explosion the day before yesterday in this factory of chemical and bituminous products on highway BB in Zemun is still being determined, it is being assumed for now that the black number has stopped at 10 killed.

Eleven workers were taken to Belgrade hospitals after this disaster, but one, despite the efforts of the doctors, succumbed to his injuries. The others are recovering, but the condition of some workers is still classified as serious. Because of their injuries, their lives are still in danger. Special teams of the capital's SUP [Ministry of Internal Affairs] and firefighters were at the site of the tragedy yesterday, clearing away the wreckage in search of the causes of this, for Belgrade, unprecedented accident.

According to the first reports, the explosion occurred at 1830 when the workers of Grmec were mixing powder in a double-roller machine. When this material was in powder form, it began to fall out around the machine and the workers attempted to put it back and continue to mix it. Suddenly, the detonation was heard. The machine, weighing 16 tons, exploded in a split second into pieces that fell throughout the whole plant hall, and pillars of reinforced concrete were turned into powder and ash. Cries were heard.

"I was standing the whole time next to the machine and was gathering up powder that had fallen around it. I needed a broom and went to find it. I had just gone a few meters and heard the bang. The detonation threw me more than 10 meters," the seriously injured Nikola Isakovic, who has been a Grmec worker for 33 years and is recovering in the Zemun KBC [Clinical-Hospital Center], reported with disbelief. "Seeing the horror around me, I started for the exit. However, electrical cables blocked the way, and I couldn't get through there. I turned around and saw that I was surrounded by flames. I spotted a hole in the wall, which the explosion had made, and realized that it was my only hope. My colleagues, also seriously injured, attempted to save themselves; we helped each other to the extent conditions permitted us. Unfortunately, many of my colleagues remained in the wreckage and there was no hope for them," Isakovic finished his terrible report with sadness in his eyes. He added that when it was time to go to sleep at night, the terrible scene of the explosion, which he survived by mere chance, is replayed before his eyes.

The fact that the roof structure was shaken and is even in danger of collapsing indicates how powerful the detonation was. In addition, the glass in all the windows was blown out. Further operations in this factory are practically impossible until the police investigation is completed and until the entire factory is rebuilt and again readied for use.

The exact causes are not yet known, but it is assumed that some sort of explosive material was involved which was only in the experimentation phase. Supposedly, the material with which the Grmec employees were working immediately before the accident arrived at the factory at around 1800 hours, or only half an hour before the explosion. Some sort of foil was to be made from this substance. Naturally, the police will have the final word when they complete their investigation. The public will be informed at an appropriate time about the date and

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time of a commemorative meeting and a farewell to the mortal remains of those killed.

[Box, p 4]

Telegrams of Sympathy

Zoran Lilic: On the occasion of the major accident that occurred in the Grmec Factory, Zoran Lilic, president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, sent a telegram with expressions of sympathy to the families of the workers killed.

Radoje Kontic: Dr. Radoje Kontic, president of the Federal Government, on the occasion of the tragic accident at Grmec in Belgrade, sent a telegram with expressions of deepest sympathy to the collective of that enterprise and the families of the tragically killed workers, and wishes for a speedy recovery to the injured workers.

"I was deeply shaken by the news about the accident that occurred in your enterprise, and especially by hearing about the number of workers killed and injured," the telegram from the federal prime minister reads.

Mirko Mirjanovic: On the occasion of the major accident at Grmec, Mirko Mirjanovic, president of the Government of the Republic of Serbia, sent his sympathy last night, in the name of the Government of the Republic of Serbia and in his own name, to the families of the workers killed and wished the injured workers the speediest possible recovery.

Dragan Tomic: "On the occasion of the major, serious tragedy that happened to your collective, I am sending expressions of the deepest sympathy, in the name of the National Assembly and in my own name, to you and the members of the families of the victims," the telegram from Dragan Tomic, president of the National Assembly of Serbia, read.

General Perisic: Lt. General Momcilo Perisic, chief of the General Staff of the Army of Yugoslavia, sent, in the name of members of the Army of Yugoslavia and in his own name, telegrams of sympathy to the Grmec Enterprise and to the president of the Government of Serbia, Mirko Marjanovic.

The telegrams expressed sympathy to the families of those killed, and wishes for a speedy recovery to the injured.

Nebojsa Covic: President of the City Assembly, the Honorable Nebojsa Covic, and president of the Executive Council of the City Assembly, Zoran Milosevic, sent, in their names and in the name of the City Assembly and the Executive Council of the City Assembly, telegrams of sympathy to the collective and the management of Grmec, as well as to the families of the victims.

[Box, p 8]

Meeting of the Administrative Council of Grmec: Assistance to Families of the Victims

At the meeting of the Administrative Council of Grmec that was held the night before last about 2300 hours, a decision was made to grant one-time assistance of 7,000 dinars to the famiies of those killed.

In addition, the injured workers will receive a one-time payment of 3,000 dinars. The operating system of the Grmec Joint-Stock Company of Belgrade, which, primarily through hiring, granting scholarships, and education, will assist the members of the families of the workers killed, also announced its humanitarian involvement.

The Council of the Federation of Trade Unions of Serbia, the Republic Council for Energy, Chemistry, and Nonmetals of Serbia, the Council of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Belgrade, and the City Council for Energy, Chemistry, and Nonmetals also allocated one-time monetary assistance of 1,500 dinars each to the families of the victims, and will participate in cleaning up the damage in the enterprise.

As we have learned, a council for interment has been formed which will include representatives of the Government of Serbia, the Economic Chambers of Serbia and Belgrade, the republic and city trade unions, and the Executive Council of Belgrade and the district of Zemun.

[Box, p 4]

Names of Those Killed Known

In the explosion that occurred the night before last at the Grmec Enterprise in Zemun, Petar Rot, Zivorad Stefanovic, Dragan Veljin, Bora Stoisavljevic, Branko Jovanovic, Goran Maslakovic, Gojko Djukanovic, and Ivica Besic were killed. Two victims of the explosion have remained unidentified, but it is assumed that they are Zdravko Stancic and Vojislav Mucibabic. The fate of Ljubisa Ivic, who was in the factory at the time of the explosion, is still unknown.

This, among other things, was reported at yesterday's press conference by Rajko Uncanin, general director of Grmec. According to Uncanin, the damage from the explosion in the factory is extensive and is estimated at 7-10 million dinars. It is expected that rebuilding will be completed only after six months.

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Uncanin mentioned that Grmec is a chemical factory with a high degree of risk of possible explosion and thus is in a constant state of readiness. However, not even the director of Grmec could say at the press conference what the real cause of the explosion the day before yesterday was.

The operating system of Grmec will extend the necessary assistance to families of the workers killed by hiring unemployed members of the families, and will also provide scholarships and education for the children of these workers. The assembly of Zemun district will assist the families of those killed with 3,000 dinars and those of the injured with 1,000 dinars apiece. The executive council of the Assembly of Belgrade will also grant assistance to the workers killed of 5,000 dinars apiece and to the families of the injured of 2,000 dinars apiece. "Beobanka," the economic chambers of Serbia and Belgrade, and "Ikarbus" have also offered monetary assistance, said Rajko Uncanin, general director of Grmec, at yesterday's press conference.

[Box, p 4]

Report From Belgrade's Hospitals

Five injured workers of Grmec, of whom three are in the traumatology unit and two in the intensive care unit, are in the Zemun Clinical-Hospital Center, the hospital's doctor in charge, Dr. Vojislav Cvetkovic, reported to TANJUG.

According to him, the patients in the trauma unit, Nikola Isakovic, Boris Plavsic, and Ljuba Radovanovic (Ms.), are out of danger, while the two injured persons in the intensive care unit, Vladica Bozic and Zija Dalifi, have serious injuries and are under constant doctor's care.

The condition of the injured Darko Hansman is much improved and he will probably be transferred to another department soon, while the condition of Bozica Katic is still serious, the doctor in charge of the Emergency Center, Dr. Nada Andjelic, reported.

The doctor in charge of the Clinic for Plastic Surgery of the Clinical Center of Serbia, Dr. Alenka Dubovsek, expressed the hope that the two patients on whom surgery was performed yesterday will soon enter a favorable clinical stage.

She explained that Radoslav Jelic is suffering from serious injury, second- and third-degree burns over 14 percent of his body, and Mirko Ljiljak from burns over 45 percent of his body.

Jelic's condition is stable, while Ljiljak's is still critical.

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